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March 1960

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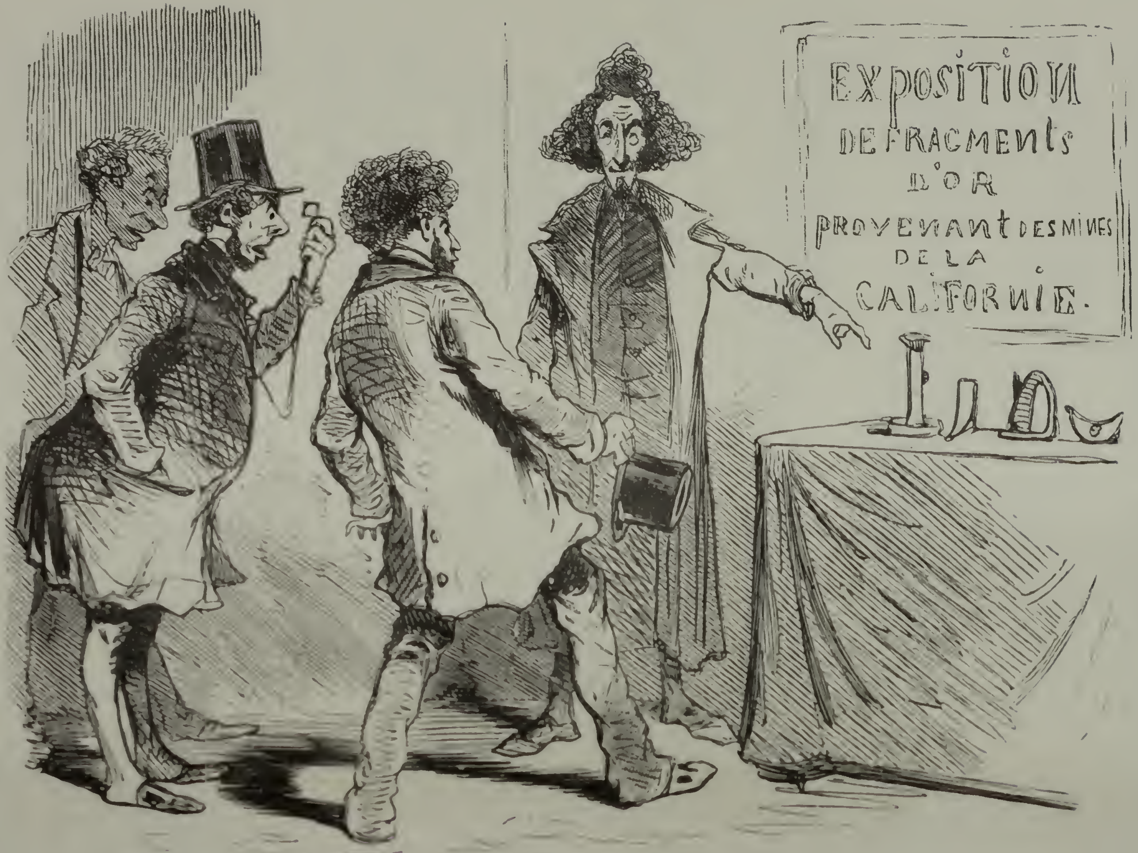

EXPOSITION
DE FRAGMENTS
D'OR
PROVENANT DES MINES
DE LA
CALIFORNIE.

California cartoon by Cham from a contemporary Paris, France, newspaper.

"Exposition of the California Society of Montmartre Boulevard. —Yes, gentlemen, all of these objects were found just as you see them in the California mines . . . Who would hesitate now to buy a share for five francs?"

From the CHS Library

The French Language Press in California

By Clifford H. Bissell

INTRODUCTION

In publishing a history of the French language press in California, I feel I must begin by apologizing for its incompleteness. Except for Louisiana, California has probably had the most voluminous material in French newspapers and periodicals of any State in the Union; yet only a small portion of this material exists today, and it is widely scattered. "California," as far as the French press is concerned, means almost exclusively San Francisco and Los Angeles, with the former by far the more important. A great deal of the material there was lost in the disastrous earthquake and fire of 1906. One of the chief libraries in Los Angeles also suffered loss by fire. In addition, there seems to have been a surprising lack of interest in preserving old copies of newspapers. Thus in the case of *L'Union*, the first French newspaper in southern California, which lasted about three years, it might logically be supposed that some of its files would have been kept by its direct successor, *L'Union Nouvelle*, which is still published; however, even more than ten years ago the editors of the latter could locate no copies of *L'Union*, nor does any library appear to own one. Members of the French colonies in both cities do not even remember certain papers which flourished for a year or more in their lifetime. The men who were responsible for them, well-known in their day, have similarly been forgotten save by a few.

The bibliography, unfortunately, is also untrustworthy. Not only are the data given in the *Union List of Newspapers* incomplete, but the catalogues of the libraries themselves are not always reliable. Some bad errors were found in the catalogue of one of our largest university libraries. Another, which was named in the *Union List of Newspapers* as having copies of one of the French journals from 1932 on, informed me, "We regret that we no longer maintain our subscription, and that our file has been disposed of." Still another librarian wrote, "Unfortunately much of this cataloguing was done by WPA untrained help and our own records are frequently in error to say nothing of the published lists which add errors of their own."

Although a number of books have been consulted in the effort to find information, only a few have furnished more than occasional scraps. The chief source for what little we know about very early San Francisco French publications is an essay called "A History of California Newspapers," by Edward C. Kemble, published in the *Sacramento Union* of December 25, 1858, and later reprinted as a separate volume. Even a man as near in time to his material as Kemble—who was himself a journalist—was quite vague about name and dates connected with the mostly ephemeral French papers of the early 'fifties in San Francisco, and some of his statements are erroneous. The most informative book concerning a somewhat later period is Daniel Lévy's *Les Français en Californie*, published in 1884. It deals mainly with San Francisco; although Lévy did not die until 1910, he never brought his book up to date. In 1917 appeared *Le Guide des Français en Californie*, by Georges Lanson. It was announced as the first volume of an annual, and stated that its failure to tell anything about southern California would be repaired in the next issue, but no further issues were published. In 1939 appeared the *History of Foreign Journalism in San Francisco,* W.P.A. project 10008, Emerson Daggett, Supervisor. Most of the material in it appears to be taken from second-hand sources; it contains a fair number of errors, and omits mention of some important journals altogether. For southern California, the most complete book is *Le Guide Français de Los Angeles et du Sud de la Californie*, edited and published in 1932 by Fernand Loyer and Ch. Beaudreau, with assistance of Catherine Beaudreau. Other publications that have contributed information here and there are "A History of Los Angeles Journalism," by Julia N. McCorkle, in the *Publications* of the Historical Society of Southern California, Volume X (1915-1917); *California Imprints, August 1846-June 1851*, by Henry R. Wagner (Berkeley, 1922); *Sixty Years in Southern California*, by Harris Newmark (3rd ed., Los Angeles, 1930); and *Notre Centenaire*, edited by Jehanne

Biétry-Salinger (San Francisco, 1949). Newmark wrote largely from memory and some of his dates are approximate.

Of peculiar interest are two books written right in the midst of the scenes they describe. The first is a journal kept by Ernest de Massey, beginning December 4, 1849, published as *A Frenchman in the Gold Rush,* translated by Marguerite Eyer Wilbur, with notes by Charles L. Camp (San Francisco, California Historical Society, 1927). Part of it deals with de Massey's life in San Francisco and part with his adventures in the mining country. He was the younger son of a noble family from Franche-Comté, who had sustained financial reverses at home. Besides dabbling in journalism in San Francisco, he conducted a furniture store and a bookstore, but suffered losses in the three bad fires that swept the city in the early 'fifties. He returned definitely to France in 1857. The second is also a journal, translated from the original by Clarkson Crane as *Last Adventure, San Francisco in 1851* (San Francisco, Westgate Press, 1931). The translation actually covers only the last fifty pages of the journal, merely summarizing the long and trying voyage from le Havre on the sailing ship *Joseph,* and ends suddenly on a description of the California Indians. The writer was Albert Benard de Roushaile, who is referred to by de Massey under the name of Albert Besnard de Ruchail, and whose name is also found spelled Russailh, Russailhes, Russailles, and Russailhac. He was a man of superior culture. He arrived in San Francisco in the spring of 1851 and died there only a little over a year later, aged 33, in a cholera epidemic. His funeral address was delivered on July 17, 1852, by Jules de France, the founder of the first French journal in California. He was doing well both as a newspaper writer and in the theatrical business when the fire of May 1851 ruined him. He then bought a small house in what he thought was a safer place, only to have it destroyed in the fire of June 22nd.

The most reliable sources for information about the California French press have been, of course, copies of the newspapers themselves, whenever obtainable. Where they are lacking, sometimes comments in the American press of the same period have supplied data, but finding these requires much time and labor, and the results are often barren.

I have listed herein the names and all I have been able to learn of every French publication in California, past and present, with three exceptions, which are surrounded with an air of mystery. The first of these is the *Chronique de Calaveras*, at Mokelumne Hill, a small place near Jackson in the foothills of the Sierra Nevada. Lévy says that this paper was started by H. A. de Courcy in 1852. At that time Mokelumne Hill was a gold-mining center, and had a much larger population than it has now, probably over 5,000, including a considerable French element.[1] Nevertheless I doubt whether such a paper as the *Chronique de Calaveras* ever existed. I have been able to find absolutely no record of it, and am inclined to think that it is actually the American newspaper *The Calaveras Chronicle*, which was started at Mokelumne Hill in October, 1851, by Hamilton, Ayers, and Company, with de Courcy as editor and one of the partners. The *Alta California* of October 21, 1851, speaks of having received the first number of this journal and gives the names mentioned above. Copies of the *Calaveras Chronicle* are in existence, and in the issue of July 17, 1852, is an announcement that the partnership is on that day dissolved by mutual consent, and that the establishment will hereafter be conducted by H. Hamilton. The announcement is signed by Ayers, Hamilton, and de Courcy. If this paper is the source of a mythical *Chronique de Calaveras*, the reason may have been that Lévy or an earlier writer saw a reference to a paper of the latter name in the *Echo du Pacifique*. In its early days, at least, the *Echo* more than once, in mentioning American papers, translated their names into French; the Sacramento *Republican*, for example, is spoken of as *Le Républicain*. The same sort of thing may have taken place in connection with the *Calaveras Chronicle*. Another possibility is that de Courcy or Dr. Pigné-Dupuytren (whose name has also been mentioned in this connection) conducted a French supplement in the *Calaveras Chronicle* under the name of "Chronique de Calaveras," beginning in 1852, but if so, it did not last long. The whole matter can be no more than a subject of guesswork.

The other two papers not listed are mentioned as having been published in Los Angeles, and the only place where I have ever seen their names is in Alexandre Belisle's *Histoire de la Presse Franco-Américaine* (Worcester, 1911). This is the more remarkable inasmuch as Belisle's work, while quite detailed about French journals published in Canada and in the New England states, contains only a few pages about

Louisiana and is still more fragmentary about California, mentioning but seven papers in San Francisco and three or four (other than the two under discussion) in Los Angeles. The two in question are *Le Fidèle Messager* (1886) and the *Journal des Pichets* (1892), the latter accompanied by the name of Thos. A. Dorion as publisher. City directories of the period list neither Dorion nor the two papers, and inquiries of various sources have failed to elicit even the slightest information about them. This does not necessarily mean that they never existed, for *L'International* and *Le Progrès* of San Francisco would be likewise unknown but for a couple of paragraphs about them in a contemporary, *Le National.* These may have been equally ephemeral. The question remains why Belisle named them while ignoring far more important papers.

City directories, though valuable as a starting point for investigations, are not always reliable. They frequently fail to list journals, especially short-lived ones, and sometimes inexplicably omit for a year or two the names of others that have been published continuously. And of course a directory gives no clue to the date of the first, last, or any of the intermediate issues of a journal; in fact, it is often guesswork as to which of two years is the right one.

I can only hope that no publication of importance has escaped my search.

* * * * *

Someone has remarked that if a group of Frenchmen were left in an uninhabited land, the first thing they would do would be to start a theater. It might with almost equal justice be said that in an uninhabited land, or in a land where the inhabitants spoke another language, one of their first acts would be to start a newspaper. Even before 1849, the population of California included a respectable number of Frenchmen. In 1839 a French architect, J. J. Vioget, drew the plan for the village of Yerba Buena, which later became San Francisco. It was the Gold Rush, however, that so greatly increased the French population that there came into existence what could be truthfully called a "French colony." Unscrupulous promoters in France reaped financial profit by acting as agents to send their countrymen to California (and in spite of promises, doing nothing for them, after they had got their money and put them aboard ship). There was even a bi-monthly journal published in France called *La Californie,* with the object of holding out the allurements of California and the chance to get rich there. Such enticements were the more tempting inasmuch as the discovery of gold in California coincided with a period of economic depression in France under the Second Republic, the period of Louis Blanc and the Ateliers Nationaux.[2] One company, the Société des Lingots d'Or, was backed by the French government, and Alexandre Dumas *fils* wrote propaganda for it.[3]

The Company held a lottery to raise funds for the project, and although enlistments were in theory voluntary, the police put pressure not only on indigents, but on political undesirables as well, to enroll as emigrants. A fleet of seventeen ships was sent out, the first sailing from France on October 11, 1851, and the last on June 25, 1853. Not all arrived in the order in which they sailed. Dr. Toubin and Pierre Cauwet, whose names were later prominent in San Francisco French journalism, were among the passengers.[4] According to Nasatir's *French Activities in California,* many Frenchmen, before the admission of California to the Union, even hoped to acquire that state for France.

A large number of the French who came to California tried their fortune at the mines and then turned to something else; others never attempted the venture of the gold fields.[5] It may be interesting to quote a contemporary American comment on the French population, and also some French comments about the Americans. The *Annals of San Francisco* by Soulé, Gihon, and Nisbet (1855) says of the French (pp. 462-4), "They are nearly as numerous as the Germans in San Francisco,[6] and may now (1854) number about 5000 persons of both sexes. They preserve many of their national characteristics, and do not seem capable of thoroughly adopting American thoughts and fashions.... California, and America itself, are but places where money may be made to enable them to return to their own land in Europe.... They are the chief shoeblacks and hairdressers, cooks, wine importers, and professional gamblers." The bootblacks, it appeared, charged twenty-five cents a shine, "and some of them have at this singular business gathered money enough to open shops, neatly furnished, for the same purposes.... But besides these occupations, this people pursue all other callings here, and many of them are among the most distinguished, wealthy, and respectable inhabitants of the city. They are partial to public amusements, and have often a theatre open.... They have a society for the relief of poor immigrants, besides several other benevolent associations. Two tri-weekly newspapers are published in their language, a portion of one of which is written in Spanish." The passage goes on to say that French taste has had a good influence on architecture here, and their polite manners have given an ease to the ordinary intercourse of society which the unbending American character does not possess. The expensive and fashionable style of dressing among the French ladies has been profitable to jewelers, silk merchants, milliners, etc., while it has perhaps increased the general extravagance among the whole female population. The French complain that the Americans do not treat them as well as they do the Germans. "The reason seems obvious. It is because they do not take the same pains to learn the American language and character... [and] the wild glorification of Frenchmen to [sic] everything connected with beautiful France, is often a neglectful insult to the land that shelters them.... The French love light wines—and they are sparkling, yet without strength or force of character." Much in the same vein are remarks made by a Frenchman, Edmond Leuba, in describing a visit made by him to San Francisco in 1868.[7] He says:

> Le Français se réserve, cherche à vivre au milieu de ses compatriotes, est indifférent à apprendre l'anglais et à se lier avec les Américains. En Californie, ils ont formé dès l'origine comme une population à part, vivant autant que possible de la vie de France, et ne connaissant guère que le parler de leur enfance. Bien rares sont ceux qui se font recevoir citoyens américains... [ils] ne s'y décident que parce que le bien de leurs affaires le demande absolument. Cette indifférence est regrettable et certainment préjudiciable à la population française.[8]

Perhaps they had some reason for not being too fond of the Americans they saw during the early years of San Francisco. De Roushaile's journal says, "It is difficult not to conclude that the Americans are a savage and primitive race.... They always carry revolvers, and they draw them at the least provocation.... I often wonder if this great people will revert altogether to barbarism.... As a race they laugh at honesty and decency whenever it is to their advantage to do so.... The police force is largely made up of ex-bandits. Policemen here are quite as much to be feared as the robbers; if they know you have money, they will be the first to knock you on the head.... I think that all the people concerned with justice or the police are in league with the criminals."

He adds that he was kept awake every night by pistol shots. "It is even possible that some time in the future San Francisco and the other California towns will become well governed cities, where murders will be the exception rather than the rule. At present, this seems an idle dream." Later the journal has things to say about the Americans that are more complimentary. The writer praises American equality, and declares that the leading men of the city and the magistrates live on terms of equality with the other inhabitants, and this familiarity does not prevent them from "doing their duty with honor and impartiality." He speaks of meetings where candidates address the voters, and comments, "they are always orderly, quite unlike our meetings in France. If ten Frenchmen come together, they will be quarreling and insulting one another within five minutes. Whenever the government at home sees a crowd gathering on the street, the troops are at once called out to break it up." He also regrets the insularity of his compatriots. Says he, "Most of the Frenchmen here cannot live on friendly terms with the Americans, whom they consider a savage, ignorant people. Repelled by the difficulty of learning English and unable to communicate with Americans, they live entirely among themselves, and only do business with each other. . . . I am the first to deplore this attitude. It is true that . . . there are many undesirable people here, but I must say that there are also many real gentlemen whom I am glad to have known."

The history of the French language press in northern California may be roughly divided into four periods, as follows:

(1), from 1850 to 1865. Marked by the appearance and disappearance of a considerable number of newspapers, by polemics among editors, and by the steadily increasing domination of the field by the *Echo du Pacifique*. This is covered in Chapter I and part of Chapter II.

(2), somewhat overlapping the first, to 1888. Relatively peaceful. The most important journal during this period was *Le National*, founded in 1864. This is covered in the balance of Chapter II.

(3), from 1888 through 1926. Begins with the appearance of "belligerent Barra"; characterized by a violent feud between two factions of the French colony, each represented by its own press. This is covered in Chapter III and part of Chapter IV.

(4), from 1927 to the present. Characterized by the hegemony of the *Courrier du Pacifique* and its successor *Le Courrier Français des Etats-Unis,* troubled only for a brief time during World War II. This is covered in the balance of Chapter IV.

Southern California, which does not fall into distinct periods or factions, is covered in Chapter V.

Chapter I

NORTHERN CALIFORNIA: THE FIRST DECADE

The beginnings: de France, Anselin; French columns in English language newspapers

Ernest de Massey[9] has much to say in his journal about Jules de France, and it is not flattering. Amaury Mars, in his book *Les Pyrénées et la Californie,* states that de France was born in the department of Seine-et-Marne in 1806, and that when he came to California he was "le bohémien déjà mûr et incorrigible. Sa chevelure et sa longue moustache grisonnante lui donnaient l'air de ces vieux rapins roublards que l'on rencontrait autrefois au Quartier Latin." He seems to have been a man of talent but of unstable character. He wrote several comedies, one of which, a satirical piece called "Monsieur Gogo en Californie," was acted with success at the French theater of San Francisco in 1852. Eventually de France went to Havana and died there. He is quoted as having put in his will,

"Je lègue à Dieu mon esprit moribond,
Comme un oiseau blessé qui fait son dernier bond."

De Massey, who became acquainted with him soon after arriving in San Francisco, says that de France claimed descent from Robert the Brave;[10] he actually bore the title of vicomte. To quote from de Massey: "De France has tried to launch a newspaper—buying an autographic press from Dr. Briot for that purpose—and after purchasing some paper on credit, published one edition. It failed to sell, however; yet a few debts more or less mean nothing to this gentleman. He suspended publication for fifteen days, then found a new money-lender, but his second venture proved no more successful. All this, nevertheless, failed to dampen his enthusiasm. He has about one hundred different schemes in his head, all more or less visionary, for living in luxury at the expense of any simpleton who comes along. The only things he expects to pay with are promises, flattery, and insinuating remarks. This is a currency, he is clever enough to know, that never depreciates wherever it is used carefully."

De Massey's next entry about him occurs in or about April, 1850: "Even now it is so warm that I have retired to the office of de France—which fortunately costs him nothing—to write this. He already owes rents to Mr. Chauviteau, which he has promised to pay when he has funds. But as he will never have any, this proprietor will probably have to wait with the others. Much to my surprise this rascal was not malicious or cruel to the curé [i.e. the abbé Doubet, who from accounts later in the journal must have been a queer and irresponsible kind of priest.]" Late in August 1850, de Massey writes, "Veron is now living with de France who has the knack of living gratuitously. Veron is boarding him by way of payment. And so this dual ménage houses a fool as well as a rascal, Veron playing the former role."

No. 1 of *Le Californien* appeared on January 21, 1850, and at least three numbers were published; the only known copy is No. 3, dated January 31. It was lithographed, with the characters in script (no French type being then obtainable) on foolscap size paper, 14 by 17 inches. The paper styles itself "Organe des Intérêts Français en Californie. Rédacteur en Chef, J. Anselin. Directeur Gérant, J. de France." This number has four pages, two columns to the page. The matter consists almost entirely of an editorial announcement, a reproduction of a message from the president of the French Republic signed "L. Napoléon Bonaparte," and advertisements. The editor promises his readers, "Dans un espace de temps qui sera le plus court possible, le Journal paraîtra d'un plus grand format c'est convenu et ensuite imprimé typographiquement." He also assures his subscribers that they will have a special number "pour le départ du courrier," beginning February 10. Lastly, the editor declares that he will have nothing to say about American politics or government, "l'interdiction du blâme impliquant l'interdiction de l'éloge." The place of publication is given as Maison Chauviteau, 14 Clay Street, and the price of subscription "six mois huit piastres, un an douze piastres."

The only subsequent reference to the history of the paper is a statement in the *Alta California* of March 19, 1850: "The publication of this French periodical which has been suspended for some time past will be recommenced on the 20th instant." No mention of its reappearance occurs in subsequent issues, and it is impossible to tell how long it had been suspended, or whether it ever resumed; if it did, it must have been briefly. De France later appears in connection with two other newspapers, the *Revue Californienne* of 1851 and the *Tam-Tam,* but failed with them also.

Kemble is in error in stating that the *Gazette Républicaine* was started in August, 1850, for a reference in the *Evening Picayune* shows that it began in September, which still makes it the second French newspaper to be published in California. The *Picayune* of Thursday, September 12, 1850, says, "LA GAZETTE REPUBLICAINE. This is the title of a French journal the first number of which appears this morning, under the proprietorship of M. [Octavian] Hoogs. It is to be published on Tuesdays, Thursdays and Saturdays. The sheet is neatly got up in its mechanical execution, and so far as we have been able to judge from a hasty glance over its columns, the editorial department is in able hands. The paper will fill a desideratum in this city, and will doubtless receive a liberal patronage from the twenty-five thousand French citizens residing in this State." Unfortunately this prediction was not fulfilled, and the life of the paper ended in the same month in which it began. The *California Courier* of Tuesday, September 24, published a letter from J. Anselin, the editor of the *Gazette Républicaine,* dated September 23, beginning, " A dater de ce jour, la Gazette Républicaine, journal exclusivement français en Californie, cesse sa publication." He goes on to explain that the support given to it was not sufficient "pour lutter contre la puissance d'inertie d'une autre portion de Français ayant intérêt à ce que le journal ne parût pas ainsi." He declares that he leaves it with no debts owed to anybody, and promises, "cette suspension n'est que momentanée; avant peu nous continuerons notre publication Franco-Américaine. . . . nous devons ici rendre hommage à la haute collaboration de M. H. J. Mirandol. . . . quelques jours de patience et nous paraîtrons pour ne plus cesser cette fois."

A second letter, appearing in the *Courier* of September 30, is not quite so sanguine. It mentions the heavy sacrifices incurred by "M. Hoogs, de Boston," announces that beginning on October 15 the steamer edition of the *Courier* will contain one or two columns in

French, and says that if subscriptions to start a new French journal prove insufficient by the end of October, "les fonds seront remis intacts entre les mains des déposants." No evidence has been found to show that the *Gazette* had a successor, and no copies of the paper itself are known. Nor are any copies of the steamer edition of the *Courier* available to show whether the promised French columns appeared in it.

Further comment on the *Gazette* is found in the journal of Ernest de Massey, who worked for a time with Anselin, and who does not agree with the *Picayune* that the French paper was editorially in able hands. He says that it was "a first-class sheet of medium size . . . clearly printed . . . but accent marks were omitted. They had notices and advertisements, but subscriptions were lacking. . . . It was poorly edited by Mr. Ancelin [sic] editor-in-chief, and his assistant, Mirandol." De Massey's conclusion is that the French population was still too poor, too scattered, and too nomadic for success to crown such an enterprise, unless backed by ample capital. He adds that the press in San Francisco is used by men of an inferior order. He calls Hoogs a Canadian, whereas Anselin says he was from Boston; he may, of course, have been both. The most intriguing statement about the *Gazette* made by de Massey is that it stopped after fifteen numbers. Since it was a tri-weekly and lasted only from September 12 to September 23, this is logically impossible. Yet de Massey was on the spot, and writing as he was in his private journal, he must have put things down very shortly after they occurred. Could it be that Anselin actually did bring out a few numbers of a successor to the *Gazette* and that de Massey was referring to this, or could his reference have been to the French columns that Anselin said he would contribute to the *Courier?*

On January 22, 1851, the *Public Balance* appeared with a French section carrying the heading, "Pour les Residens Francais." It had no accents, nor was its French above reproach, e.g., "Assassination d'un Francais." The section begins by announcing that "M. Buckelew, proprietaire du journal Public Balance . . . vient de s'assurer par un traite avec nous, une longue serie d'articles quotidiens, pour cette partie de son journal." The "redacteurs nouveaux" outline their aims, which are to abstain from political comment and polemics of any sort, to give simply the news from France and Europe, also important local events and "la chronique des mines en exploitation, et les renseignements qu'ils pourront obtenir sur les placers nouveaux." They desire to further the fusion of interests of California French and Americans, and comment, "Le moment n'est pas encore venu ou un journal uniquement redige en Francais puisse reussir; il faut une transition." They give theatrical news, especially of the French theater in San Francisco. The whole section occupies two columns.

The editors name themselves as MM. Isnard and de Massey,[11] Pine Street, near the Hotel Richelieu. The fact that they speak of themselves as "les nouveaux redacteurs" and that they mention the encouragement received by Mr. Buckelew "surtout depuis qu'il a ouvert ses colonnes a la redaction francaise," makes it appear that the *Public Balance* had run a previous French column. It was probably conducted by Anselin. Eugene Casserley, editor-in-chief of the paper, a lawyer, was so domineering that he had to resign. He started another paper called *The Very True Public Balance* and took Anselin to edit its French column. A lawsuit by Buckelew compelled him to change the name to *Daily True Standard.* De Massey tells in his journal (January, 1851) that he has just arranged with "Mr. Buckliu" to contribute a French column to the *Public Balance.* He is to be assigned 1200 words a day, with no stipulation as to what he is to furnish, and he is to receive $6.00 a day, as well as 100 copies of the paper, and a share of the profits from any notices he brings in, as well as from the advertisements. He has two newsboys to sell his 100 copies, and does not think highly of the character of either of them. One was Picot de Moras, a retired officer, first cousin of a baron and relative of a vicomte who was chief judge of the court of Besançon in the reign of Charles X; de Massey's comment is that he seems to be a black sheep. The second, J. B. de Finance, of little education but quite ambitious, is another kind of animal, "a wolf in sheep's clothing," and de Massey adds, "I venture to predict his ultimate downfall." A good deal of de Massey's contribution seems to have been in the form of translations. Most of the time the French section consisted of only one column, though there was also about half a column labeled "Annonces Francaises." Jules de France contributed a serial article called "Revue de San Francisco," beginning on January 28 and running irregularly through various following numbers.

After March 8, 1851, the French section stops without warning, except for the "annonces," and in May the career of the paper was ended by fire. De Massey was impressed by the prevalence of corruption, thievery, assault, and murder in San Francisco, and advocated the formation of vigilance committees. One of his most important translations was that of an article by Dr. R. C. Matthewson, who had succeeded Casserly as editor-in-chief, about the Mormons; it was claimed to be the first detailed description of them by an outsider.

Albert Benard de Roushaile's journalistic experience began soon after his arrival in San Francisco in the spring of 1851, when he wrote a letter to Anselin, then editing the French section of the *Daily True Standard*. The letter protested against an ordinance which had just been passed to prohibit small open-air shops on the streets and wharves — and de Roushaile had such a shop. Apparently Anselin published the letter without naming the writer, as if he had written it himself, but according to de Roushaile's journal this did not fool everybody, for he says that he heard some men discussing it, and one of them remarked, "Surely this isn't by Monsieur Anselin. The style is quite different. This is well written." Anselin must have had some such feeling himself, for a few days later he asked de Roushaile to help him edit the column. The latter began by writing a long editorial on a heterogeneous lot of subjects. For his work he received board and lodging and one ounce ($16) a day, as well as commissions. He was doing well when the fire of May ruined everything, and he died shortly afterwards.

The statement in the W.P.A. *History of Foreign Journalism in San Francisco* concerning the *Daily Evening Picayune* is quite misleading. It says that E. Derbec conducted French columns in that paper, established on August 3, 1850, until it was burned out in May, 1851; and that from then until June 1, 1852, there was no French press in San Francisco. But the issues of the *Picayune* of February 19, March 6, April 30, and May 29, 1851, contain no French section, whereas the same paper from January through March of 1852 has a "partie française," signed by "Rédacteur-Gérant, E. Derbec." The *Picayune* therefore did not have a French section all (if any) of the time before it was burnt out; the burning out was not permanent; and there was a French section and at least one French periodical in the year following the disastrous fire. This was the *Revue Californienne*, mentioned in the *Alta* of June 10, 1851, as published every Saturday by Jules de France. It is described as being in autographic print, eight pages, in pamphlet form. This reference is to the second number, and from a remark in the *Herald* it would appear that the first was dated June 7, 1851. It was "printed on fine paper and stitched with a pretty cover." There were in the 1850's either two or three publications with this title, and the references to them are confused; Lévy says there was only one number, but this is not true of either this one or the 1853 *Revue Californienne (q.v.)*.

According to Kemble, French sections were published for a time in the San Francisco *Picayune*, *Star*, *Evening Post*,[12] *Whig*, *Present and Future*, and *Globe*, and Lévy says that a French section appeared about 1852 in a Sacramento paper which he does not name. There are, however, no French sections in the issues of the *Whig*, *Morning Post*, and *Morning Globe*, covering various dates from 1851 to 1856, that I have examined in the Bancroft Library. In June, 1853, there was a French section called "Le Présent et l'Avenir," occupying a page and two-thirds, in *The Present and the Future*, edited and published by Edward A. Theller. For a month the editor of the French part was Alfred de Lachapelle, who will be discussed below; and Dr. Toubin was also connected with it at some time. On August 1, 1853, the name of the journal was changed to *Public Ledger* and the French section was dropped; the paper itself petered out on March 1, 1854. In the only located copy with the French section,[13] "Le Présent et l'Avenir" has advertisements and an article on the San Francisco French theater.

1852-1853: Derbec and the beginning of the *Echo du Pacifique;* de Lachapelle and *Le Messager;* *La Revue Californienne* of 1853.

By far the most important figure in French journalism in California in the early period—and stretching on for many years—was Etienne Derbec. He was born in Dijon and came to San Francisco in January, 1850. Between May 16 and December 1 of that year he wrote a series of "Lettres de Californie," which were published in the Paris *Journal des Débats*, on which, according to Lévy, he had worked as a compositor. During parts of 1850 and 1851 Derbec tried mining, but contracted fever and returned to San Francisco. In September, 1851, he became editor of the French section of the *Daily Evening Picayune,* in which position he continued through March, 1852. In June of that year he established the *Echo du Pacifique,* which quickly became the most important and first long-lasting French newspaper in San Francisco. It was a tri-weekly, and the first number appeared on June 1, 1852. The *Alta California* took note of its arrival as follows: "A new feature in journalism has made its appearance in our city. We allude to the first number of a French and Spanish newspaper which was published yesterday. It is entitled *L'Echo du Pacifique.* The first three pages are in French, and the fourth [called *El Eco del Pacífico*] is in Spanish. The gentleman at the head of the French editorial department is Monsieur Derbec. . . . The French and Spanish portion of our population [has] long since increased to such importance as to demand the publication of a journal of this character. The number before us give [sic] earnest of an able and influential paper, and we sincerely wish the proprietors success in their undertaking." Lévy's book gives a summary of the contents of the first number. It contained a speech by Louis Napoleon (then president of the French Republic), delivered slightly more than two months earlier, and a letter in which deputies Cavaignac, Hénon, and Carnot refused to take the oath prescribed by him. Lévy also quotes all the advertisements published in this number.

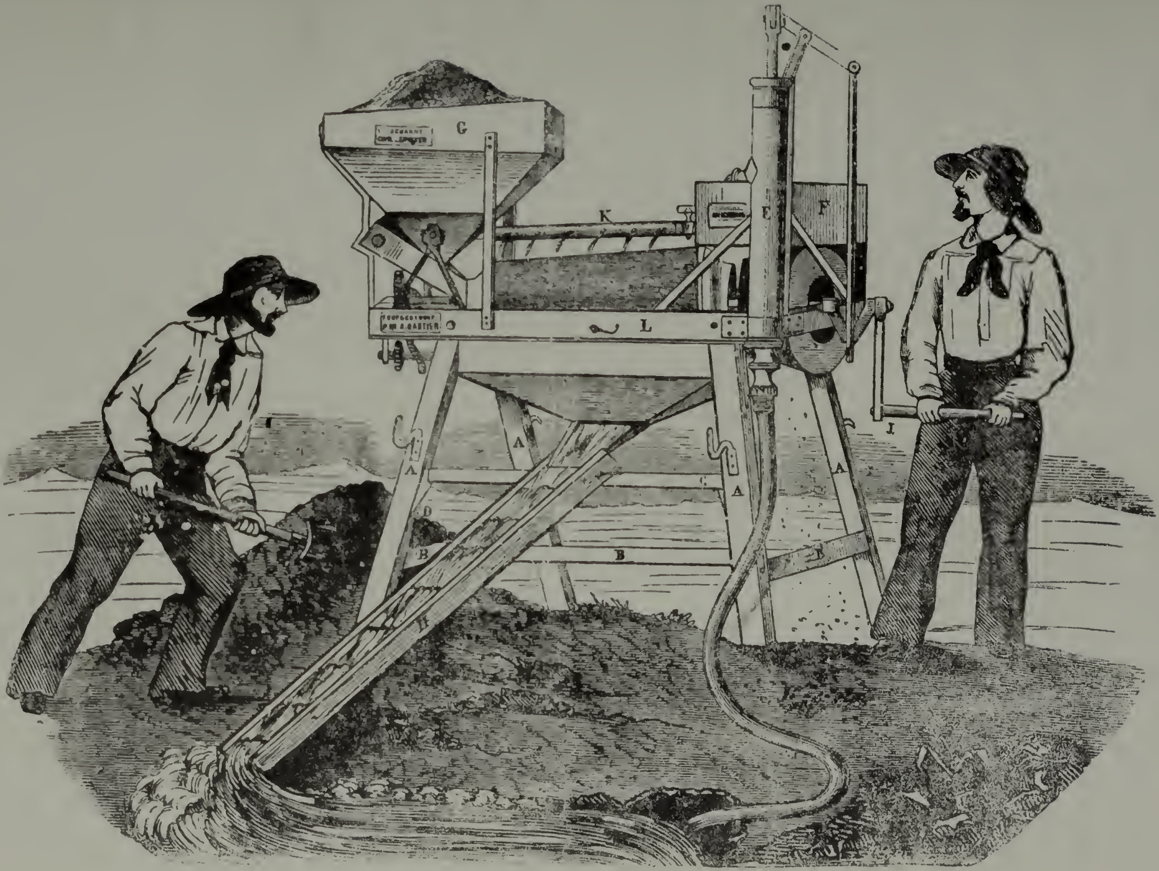
(To be continued)

NOTES

1. Jehanne Biétry-Salinger, ed. *Le Guide Franco-Californien du Centenaire; Notre Centenaire.* San Francisco [1949], pp. 200-201. Hereafter referred to as *Notre Centenaire.*

According to this work the first French hospital in California was founded at Mokelumne Hill in 1851; it consisted of a large tent. The book further states that ". . . in Mokelumne Hill which about a hundred years ago was a living, humming center of a population of several thousand Frenchmen, by 1884 there remained only four men of French descent, and these were bachelors."

2. The California Historical Society, San Francisco, has some pages of the Paris newspaper *Le Charivari* with advertisements of three such companies, offering stock at 5, 10, and 50 francs, announcing forthcoming departures of ships, and in one case ("La Fortune") promising 70,000 francs a year to workers in the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Advertisement from an 1850 Paris, France, newspaper
for California mining company shares.
From the CHS Library

California gold fields with machinery patented in France and in the United States. Another company offers stock at 100 francs for shipping prefabricated houses to California, "la spéculation la plus sûre et la plus productive (une seule chambre se loue près de 1000 fr. par mois)." This was in the spring of 1850.

3. "Companies were founded for every conceivable purpose, among them colonization of California, exploitation of the mines, promoting agriculture, real estate, commerce. The goal was to rid France of her undesirables and to make money.... it is my belief that the bulk of the French families in California today stem from the efforts of the Society of the Golden Ingots (Société des Lingots d'Or) ... the only company actually to transport a large number of emigrants to California." A. P. Nasatir, "Alexandre Dumas fils and the Lottery of the Golden Ingots," California Historical Society *Quarterly*, Vol. 33, No. 2 (June, 1954), pp. 126-128.

4. I am indebted for these details to Professor William F. Shepard of the University of California, Berkeley. The complete story of the Company will be related in a forthcoming book by William F. Shepard and A. P. Nasatir, to be entitled "The Lottery of the Golden Ingots."

5. A notice in English on the front page of the *Echo du Pacifique* of May 18, 1853, says, "The number of French citizens residing in California does not fall short of 32,000. Measures have been adopted and are now in course of execution which will increase this number by 5,000 within the present year.... The French form a large portion of the travelling public and the commercial public of this State. They are found on the river steamers, on the Pacific steamers; there are amongst them bankers, brokers, buyers of merchandise of all kinds, sellers of gold, gardeners, farmers, artisans." The notice is of course a bid for advertising.

Two of San Francisco's leading department stores, the White House and the City of Paris, were founded by Frenchmen who came during the years of the Gold Rush: the first by Raphaël Weill, the second by Emile Verdier.

6. *Notre Centenaire* says (p. 126) that in 1852 they were more numerous than the Germans or any other foreign element: "Non seulement les Français formaient l'élément le plus important de la population étrangère de San Francisco entre 1848 et 1852 du point de vue du nombre, mais aussi du point de vue des éléments qui la composaient."

7. *La Californie et les Etats du Pacifique* (Paris, 1882).

8. "The Frenchman is not a mixer; he tries to live among his compatriots; is indifferent about learning English and being with Americans. In California, from the beginning, they have formed, as it were, a separate population, living a French life as far as possible, and knowing only the language of their childhood. Rare indeed are those who become American citizens ... they only do so when their business absolutely requires it. This indifference is to be regretted and is certainly not a good thing for the French population."

It is hardly necessary to remark that this attitude is a thing of the past for most of the French in California. The majority speak English, and with the second generation they are quite Americanized.

9. The authorities cited by name in the text are identified and discussed in the Introduction.

10. Robert le Fort, Count of Anjou, died in 866; great-grandfather of Hugues Capet, founder of the French Capetian royal dynasty.

11. They were also partners in a furniture store, and de Massey accuses Isnard of having grossly cheated him in that venture.

12. Probably a misprint for *Morning Post;* the *Evening Post* was not founded until 1871.

13. June 20, 1853; California State Library.

The Party, the Machine, and the Vote

The Story of Cross-filing in California Politics

By FRANKLIN HICHBORN

(Concluded)

The machine's distrust of Pardee proved well-founded. Although he did not go all out in opposition to the machine as Governor Johnson did eight years later, he definitely refused to "take program." Early in his administration, the machine was preparing to name his successor in 1906. Early in 1905, long before the delegates to the 1906 nominating convention had been elected or even considered, machine leadership announced that James N. Gillett would receive the 1906 Republican nomination for Governor and be elected.

Gillett was comparatively little known in the North; not at all known in the rapidly developing South. As a State Senator representing Humboldt County, he had proved a quietly effective and satisfactory representative, but he had not been considered for Governor until the premature announcement of his coming candidacy. Quite satisfied with Governor Pardee's record, the anti-machine forces announced for Pardee.

Since the turn of the century, a local political machine, quite outside the state-wide railroad machine, had been building up at San Francisco. At its head as undisputed dictator was Abraham Ruef. The purpose of the railroad machine was to control public officials, regardless of the effect upon the people, in order to protect a great institution developing and operating in an untried field under conditions which could not have been foreseen. To be sure, the railroad machine, to maintain its hold, protected gambling, liquor interests and other elements under popular disapproval. The Ruef machine differed from that of the railroad in that Ruef, in absolute control of San Francisco, sold for his own benefit utility franchises for $200,000 each; annual liquor licenses for $5,000; collected from utility companies for fixing utility rates, etc.

The 1906 Republican nominating convention was held at Santa Cruz. Pardee had 215½ votes—with an additional 20 that would stick if the machine could nominate Gillett without them; J. O. Hayes had 34; Abe Ruef controlled 156 out of the 159 San Francisco delegates. This gave the forces outside the railroad machine 425½ delegates, leaving the machine 400½. To nominate, 413 were required. Even if the 20 lukewarm Pardee delegates went to Gillett, Gillett would have only 420½ votes, a margin of only 7½ above the nomination requirements, and too close for assured success, for Hayes was credited with having a few votes tucked away out of sight in the machine contingent.

To the machine's credit, it did not want to nominate with Ruef's assistance. To avoid that, negotiations were opened with Pardee but without avail. As a last resort, the machine turned to Ruef. It had to take over Ruef, so it did.

Gillett was nominated on the first ballot. He received 591½ votes, 413 being sufficient for nomination; Pardee received 233½. Pardee issued the following statement:

> We met the enemy and we were his on the first ballot. But that, of course, goes with the job and is one of the fortunes and misfortunes of war and conventions. I notice, however, that it required the railroad machine and Ruef to do the trick. If either had stood out, the nomination could not have been made as it was. Am I sore? Not a bit on earth. What right have I to be sore? It is evident that the railroad machine and Ruef did not want me to be Governor again, and as they were in control of the convention, what kick have I coming.

Such was the hour of Abraham Ruef's greatest triumph. He had attained his ambition to extend his power state-wide and the railroad machine leaders gave him a testimonial dinner. Unhappily for the machine leaders who attended, the banquet scene was photographed. The picture was later published far and wide over the nation as "*The Shame of California*." Ruef's triumph was short lived. He returned to San Francisco to face an aroused public; investigation of his rule; indictment for bribery; conviction, and a term in State's prison.

The scandals of the Santa Cruz convention aroused the people to demand that partisan nominating conventions be abolished and that nominations be made by direct primaries. The Santa Cruz Convention was the last State nominating convention to be held in California. The direct primary issue came before the machine-controlled 1907 Legislature. It could not be ignored; from machine standpoint it could not be accorded. So action was postponed until "further study" of the innovation could be made. In the face of public demand, the 1909 Legislature could no longer ignore it. The membership was about evenly divided between the railroad machine and anti-machine factions. The machine succeeded in loading the Direct Primary measure with partisan provisions. When the final vote came in the Senate, Senator Stetson declared: "Before voting on this matter, lest anyone in the future may think that I have been passed something and didn't know it, I wish to explain my vote. . . . I shall vote for this report (on free conference) not because I want to, but because I have to if we are at this session to have any Direct Primary law at all."

Senators Holohan and Miller inserted in the *Journal:* "We voted for the Direct Primary bill because it seemed to be the best law that can be obtained under existing political conditions. We are opposed to many of the features of this bill, and believe that the people at the first opportunity will instruct their representatives in the Legislature to radically amend the same in many particulars."

Senators Curtain, Cartwright and Sanford also entered a joint statement: "We voted to adopt the report of the Committee on Free Conference on Senate Bill No. 3 (the Direct Primary bill) not because we believe it to be what is desired by the people of this state, but because we believe it to be the only Direct Primary bill that can be adopted at this late hour, as the Legislature is about to adjourn."

Unsatisfactory as was the Direct Primary law thus passed, it did away with the nominating conventions and enabled candidates for office to make direct appeal for nomination to the electorate. The following year (1910) Hiram W. Johnson made that appeal for the Republican nomination for Governor. The machine supported Alden Anderson. Three others filed for the Republican nomination, Charles Curry, Phil Stanton and Nathaniel Ellery. Under the convention system, through machine manipulation with five candidates involved, Anderson would unquestionably have been nominated. Under the direct primary, with the electorate voting its choice of candidates, the Republican vote for Governor stood:

Johnson	101,666
Opposition to Johnson:	
Curry	55,390
Anderson	38,295
Stanton	18,226
Ellery	2,028
	113,939

For Governor, the Democrats had nominated Theodore A. Bell. At the November final election, the machine and other elements opposed to Johnson openly supported Bell. Johnson received 177,191 votes and election. Bell's combined vote was 154,835.

A new order had dawned for California.

Johnson was nominated on one pledge only: "If elected Governor, I'll kick the railroad machine out of the government of the state." He was elected—and he did just that.

The Johnson Legislature (1911) took the first step toward making state and county elections of candidates for non-political office non-partisan. Not only was the Denman proposal of two years before (to make the election of Judges non-partisan) enacted into law, but the election of school officials was also made non-partisan. The following Legislature (1913) made all county and township elections non-partisan. This left only the Governor, the several State officials and members of the State Legislature to be elected on a partisan basis.

Johnson ran for re-election in 1914. In practically every address, he dwelt on the satisfactory results stemming from non-partisan elections of municipal, county, township, judicial and school officials, and announced his firm decision that the members of the Legislature and State officials should be elected on a non-partisan basis also. In fact, he made such non-partisan elections an outstanding part of his platform.

Johnson had registered with the Progressive party, which was to function later as "Bull Moose." He was the sole candidate for Governor on that direct primary ticket. He was, however, something more than a candidate seeking Progressive Party nomination—he was, regardless of party label, first choice of the anti-machine element of all parties. At the primaries, 15,307 Republicans, 1,250 Prohibitionists, 4,661 Democrats and 788 Socialists wrote his name on their primary ballots, thereby designating him as their choice for Governor. His Progressive Party gave him 121,573 votes, making his total primary vote 143,579. The highest Republican primary vote was 108,274 for Fredericks; the highest Democratic primary vote was 27,763 for Curtin. At the final election in November, Johnson, with four other primary candidates in the field received 460,495 votes, to Fredericks (Republican) 271,990; Curtin (Democrat) 116,121; Nobel (Socialist) 50,716; Moore (Prohibitionist) 27,345.

The state, at the 1914 primaries, so far as was possible under existing laws, voted on a non-partisan basis. Acting under this demonstrated attitude of the electorate, Governor Johnson placed non-partisanship in the election of State officials and legislators first on his list of recommendations to the 1915 Legislature.

> Most earnestly do I suggest to you [he advised] that our State officials be elected without party designation of any sort. The advance to non-partisanship in our state will be neither an extended nor a difficult step. The political units that compose the state have all adopted non-partisanship in the selection of their officials. The desideratum of all government is efficiency—to obtain honest and able officials devoted exclusively to the government. To govern well is to govern for all, not for a part or a class. To act in official capacity should be to act solely for the benefit of the State, and that official acts best who forgets every other consideration but the interest of the State. Long ago this lesson was learned by cities. In California, as in many states, all of our cities elect their officials without regard to party affiliations at all, and without party designation. Why? Because experience taught these cities that thus they obtained better officials and greater efficiency. It is within the memory of all of us that these cities formerly elected their officials—city clerks, and the like—because of their partisan affiliations. Progress in city government swept from existence this old system that had obtained so long, and its destruction was necessary in order that the best government be obtained. Recently the counties of the State adopted the plan that has been in vogue in cities, and elect all of the county officials without party designation. Inquiry among the counties has demonstrated that this method has met with almost universal approval, and it is hoped that counties, in service, will be benefited just as the cities, in service, have been benefited. We now suggest applying the principle to the State as well, so that candidates for State positions will come before the people upon what they themselves are, not upon what their ancestors were; that they will ask the suffrages of the electorate upon their record or lack of record; their merits or their demerits, rather than upon the blind partisanship of themselves or their forefathers. There is nothing thus presented to you that seeks to destroy or even to affect political parties nationally. The government of

the State has become now a matter of efficient business management, and efficient business management may be best obtained without politics. The one argument most frequently heard against the course we suggest is that parties stand for definite policies, and that they are necessary, therefore, to preserve or to adopt some definite governmental tenets, and that, for the adoption or failure to adopt these tenets, responsibility is fixed upon the *party* in power. The fallacy of this argument is found within the memories of all of us. In the State government today, none holds a particular party responsible for any specified act. All hold responsible the individual who is supposed to have caused the act. In the government of municipalities no party ever was held responsible for the acts of its agents who were officials, but the individuals were held responsible. In the government of the county today for the specific act of an official, no party is held responsible, but the individual himself must answer to the people. Were the subject one of national import, which it is not, events of recent occurrence could readily be cited to show that the theory of party responsibility is now a mere political fiction. If a party be in charge of a corrupt boss or a number of corrupt bosses, to speak of party responsibility is absurd. If a party solemnly presents to the people a platform with well understood and thoroughly interpreted tenets, and the individual in power deliberately ignores the party's pledges, the responsibility rests with the individual. But in a political subdivision like the county, or the state, experience, the greatest teacher of all, has given us the absolute knowledge that there is in reality no party responsibility for the acts of individuals. The people of the State of California at the recent election, themselves destroyed partisanship in California, and they said just as plainly as it was possible for them to say, that in the election of their officials blind partisanship should play no part. If the voice of the people so recently heard shall carry with it the mandate of the people, non-partisanship in our State elections will be assured.

While political economists may often speak of the necessity of parties, there is none but decries blind party worship. Blind partisanship is ever the refuge of the unworthy politically, and it is he who dares not to exploit himself or his record that insists upon ignorant, unyielding and unswerving party fealty. Of late years we have emerged from that darkness, and we have emancipated our cities and our counties. It is our fond hope that in this, as in other steps of progress, we may point the way for our sister states.

In conformity with Governor Johnson's recommendations the Legislature enacted three measures:

(1) Amended the Direct Primary law to conform to the plan for non-partisanship in State and Legislative elections.

(2) Provided for a non-partisan primary ballot.

(3) Provided for non-partisan registration.

The three measures were related, and all were required to make effective the proposed non-partisan plan of State elections.

The opposition invoked the Referendum to prevent the Non-partisan Direct Primary Law and the Non-partisan Ballot Law from becoming effective until the electorate had approved them. But no action was taken against the Non-partisan Registration Law, which required that the voters be registered without party designation. Until the Non-partisan Primary Law and the Non-partisan Ballot Law were approved at the polls, the partisan primary (enacted in 1913) and the partisan ballot continued in effect. But the Non-partisan Registration Law, which required all electors to be registered without party designation, not having been stopped by referendum, became effective ninety days after adjournment of the Legislature.

Thus, as the primary law stood, nominations for legislators and State officials would be partisan; the ballot would be a partisan ballot. But there could be no partisan primary, nor would there be electors to receive a partisan primary ballot, for all electors would be registered without party designation.

The state primary was scheduled for August 1916. In the ordinary course of events, the two measures held up under the Referendum would not be voted upon until November of that year. If there were to be a primary election in 1916, the confusion due to the referendum against two of the three non-partisanship measures had to be cleared up before August. This could be done only by a state-wide election called by the Governor. The situation forced such an election; the Governor, therefore, issued the necessary call for a special election to be held October 26, 1915.

Johnson was criticized at the time, and has been since, for bringing on an expensive special election, and his judgment questioned for submitting an issue so important to the risk of a special election small vote. But there was nothing else for him to do. The opposition by referendum of part of the non-partisan legislation while permitting part of it to become effective, had brought on a situation which apparently could be met only by a special election.

Governor Johnson and his associates entered that campaign under a tremendous handicap and knew it. But never had the public shown greater confidence in him. At every meeting he held—and he spoke in every important community of the state—record crowds turned out. With his presentation of the non-partisan issue his hearers were in full accord and showed it by their applause and group discussions after the meetings. However, one thing stood in the way of ratification. The harvest time does end with October. October is the state's busy season—and the supporters of non-partisanship did not go to the polls. After all, what is one vote, or two or even three, of a hard-pressed family concluding its year's work with the fruit crop? But when 935,464 out of 1,219,345 registered voters fail to vote by such excuse, it really does mean something—as supporters of non-partisanship found.

Politically speaking, two important considerations entered into the campaign:

(1) During farm-labor troubles near Wheatland, several county officials had been killed. Two men, Ford and Suhr, were tried for the offense, convicted, and at the time of the election were confined in the penitentiary. Labor groups were demanding their pardon. Governor Johnson, after thorough study of the transcripts, held that the facts did not justify clemency, and refused. Radical labor groups in retaliation threatened opposition to the Governor's policies.

(2) At the Panama Pacific Exposition at San Francisco, owners of unclean exhibitions had concessions on the so-called "Zone." Certain "Zone" performances were declared disgraceful. The Johnson administration notified the Exposition management that unless there were a clean-up, state financial support for the Exposition would be withheld. The "Zone" was cleaned up, resulting in loss to the concessionaires concerned. This led to a sharpening of the underworld political knife for Governor Johnson and for his policies.

As of November 3, 1914, 1,219,345 voters were registered. This number had increased to approximately 1,250,000 by October 26, 1915, the special election day. About one-fifth of the registration went to the polls. On the non-partisan Direct Primary bill, 269,648 voted. Of these 112,681, about one in ten of the registered vote, voted for the bill and for non-partisanship; 156,967, about one in eight, voted against the bill and against non-partisanship. The heaviest vote was in labor districts and in so-called underworld districts. In such districts the decision on both non-partisan measures was overwhelmingly in opposition to Johnson's non-partisan policy. The companion measure, the non-partisan ballot law, was defeated by a vote of 106,377 to 151,067.

Once again the sharp-edged tool of Democracy, the Referendum which was to have prevented "the misuse of power temporarily centralized in the legislature," (see Governor Johnson's inaugural address to the 1911 Legislature), had turned in the hands of its sponsors.

The defeat of the Non-partisan Election Law and the Non-partisan Ballot Law, so far as State officials and the Legislature were concerned, restored the partisan direct primary of 1913 and the partisan ballot. But the law providing that registration should be non-partisan was still in force. This confusion of the election laws made primary elections under them apparently impossible. To meet the situation, Governor Johnson called the Legislature into extraordinary session.

The opposition responsible for the partial referendum of the bills providing for non-partisan elections, and for the resulting confusion of the election laws, took the obvious—too obvious—view that the situation would be met by repealing the non-partisan registration law now firmly part of the State statutes. But they reckoned without Hiram W. Johnson, who had quite a different idea.

Johnson proposed that the non-partisan registration law should be left intact; that the Direct Primary be so amended that the voter, on applying for his party ballot at his Direct Primary booth on election day, would be required to name the party with which he proposed to affiliate. This procedure did away with the necessity for partisan registration, and the non-partisan registration law could stand as the 1915 Legislature had enacted it.

The opposition that had taken for granted that the only out for the supporters of non-partisanship was repeal of the non-partisan registration law were shocked into wild clamor by the surprise solution proposed. They denounced it as "fastening upon the state non-partisan election of state officials and legislators, which the sovereign people in their wisdom had repudiated at the polls."

Governor Johnson, in his message to the Legislature, answered their contention with characteristic vigor.

> The time for the declaration of party affiliation is simply changed [he declared] from the time of registration to the time of the primary. This is neither a new nor novel proceeding. It is the course pursued in the majority of states having primary laws. Today, in states like Massachusetts, Idaho, Indiana, Michigan, Minnesota, West Virginia, Illinois, Wisconsin, Arizona, Colorado, Kansas, Missouri, Montana and others, the voter declares his party affiliation at

the time of the primary and surely it will not be argued that the election laws of these states are non-partisan.... It is worse than a confusion of thought to say that the will of the people was expressed upon registration at the recent special election. This is not so. The will of the people upon registration was expressed by the representatives of the people at the legislative session of 1915, and thereafter expressed by all of the people in the failure of any to attack the registration law, or invoke against it the referendum. It is nothing short of misrepresentation to assert that the amendment of the primary law, in the manner suggested, makes the election system of the state non-partisan. The amendment suggested makes the election system of this state *partisan*. It makes a system by which the political parties of the state will nominate candidates for state offices. These candidates will then have their names printed on the official election ballot with their party designation and will be voted for as partisan candidates. To claim otherwise is to demonstrate either a poverty of intellect or the wilful design of misrepresentation.

In this atmosphere of shocked resentment on the part of the opposition, and torrid justification from the non-partisans, the extraordinary session convened.

A bill amending the Direct Primary law in conformity with the Governor's message was introduced in both Houses. Senator Frank H. Benson of San Jose, Governor Johnson's Senate floor leader, took charge of it in the Senate. In the Assembly that responsibility was assumed by Speaker, afterward Governor, C. C. Young. The line-up was practically the same as that on the non-partisan bills at the regular session, the non-partisans supporting, pro-partisans opposing. The pro-partisans took the position that the non-partisan registration bill should be repealed, and the Direct Primary and ballot law be left as enacted in 1913.

The issue came to sharp debate in the Senate. Senator John W. Ballard of Los Angeles had introduced a Direct Primary bill, and Senator Lyman M. King of San Bernardino, a registration bill which conformed to the views of the opposition to the Johnson proposal. The Senate Committee on Election Laws, to which the bills had been referred, reported, declaring them out of order on the ground that "the subject matter contained therein are beyond the scope of the Governor's call convening the extra session," and recommending that no further action be taken on them.

President of the Senate John M. Eshleman ruled that the point of order raised by the committee was well taken. That disposed of the Ballard-King bills.

The Assembly had promptly passed the Johnson Assembly bill and got it over to the Senate before the Senate had acted on the identical measure introduced in the upper House. The Assembly bill was accordingly substituted for the Senate measure.

When the Assembly bill came up for final passage, Senator J. L. C. Irwin of Kings County offered amendments which would have made it essentially the same as the bill which Senator Ballard had introduced and which the President of the Senate had declared out of order. President Eshleman declared the amendments out of order on the same ground that he had ruled the Ballard-King bills out of order, namely, that the amendments did not come within the scope of the Governor's call.

Irwin appealed from the decision, and spoke to the question: "Shall the decision of the President stand as the decision of the Senate?"

Irwin had come well prepared for his argument. His desk was piled high with Legislative Journals containing precedents, parliamentary authorities, and court decisions. He spoke to the question for over three hours, giving perhaps the most complete discussion of the powers of Legislatures brought into extraordinary session under a Governor's call ever presented to the California Senate. Irwin's argument may be aptly described as scholarly (he presented some tough nuts for the progressives to crack) but tiresome. Long before the three hours had elapsed, Senators, newspaper men, spectators were weary and bored. Had Irwin stopped at the end of his argument, leaving it to be answered, his opponents would have required hours for convincing reply. But he didn't stop. He launched an attack on the proposed primary bill itself. He read from the bill: "He (the voter) shall then, in an audible tone of voice, declare to the election officer from whom he receives his ballot the name of such political party with which he intends to affiliate, and the clerk whose duty it is, according to law, to write the name of the elector on the poll list, shall also write opposite such name the name of said political party with which the elector declares it his intention to affiliate."

Irwin demanded of Senator Benson:

"In my district, Senator Benson, is a man who can neither hear nor speak. What would you do in a case like that?"

"I would send him," flashed Benson, "to the State Senate."

Senators, press representatives, gallery that for three hours had listened to Irwin drone out his authorities, for the instant did not grasp the implication. But only for an instant. Then came a roar of merriment that fairly rocked the chamber. Irwin flushed with anger.

"This," he sputtered, "is no laughing matter."

Again the crowd roared.

Irwin sat down.

Without further argument Eshleman's decision on the point of order was upheld by a vote of 22 to 5.

The Senate then proceeded to pass the bill by a vote of 25 to 8. The measure had already passed the Assembly by a vote of 46 to 29.

The progressives had lost their campaign for non-partisan election of State officials and members of the Legislature. They met the confusion in the failure of the State election laws in their own way.

There still remained that tool of Democracy, The Referendum. Once more the Referendum was invoked to prevent the new law from going into effect. This left the situation practically the same as when the Legislature had been called into extraordinary session—a partisan direct primary law based upon partisan registration, a partisan ballot and a non-partisan registration law. In the ordinary course the direct primary law would not be voted upon until November, 1916, unless the Governor called a special election. The primaries were to be held in August.

The opposition had demonstrated they could beat a special session.

The situation was finally met by Henry A. Pfister, Clerk of Santa Clara County, charged with the registration of voters. One of his deputies, Eugene E. Don, petitioned the Supreme Court for a writ compelling Pfister, the County Clerk, to allow Don to state his party affiliation in his affidavit of registration, notwithstanding the provisions of the 1915 registration law which struck from the Political Code the provision that the elector may so state his party affiliation in such affidavit. The Court granted the writ, ordering Pfister to register Don as a partisan. That settled it. The state now had a partisan primary, a partisan ballot and voters were enabled to register as partisans. The non-partisan legislation of 1915, by combination of referendum and court order, had been set aside.

The Primary bill passed at the extra session of the 1915 Legislature, and held up under the Referendum, was not voted upon until November, 1916. It was rejected by a vote of 319,559 for to 349,723 against, 645,164 of the 1,314,446 voters registered for the election not voting on this issue.

The 1917 Session of the Legislature met the following January. Governor Johnson, elected to the United States Senate in 1916, was about to resign as Governor, and Lieutenant-Governor William D. Stephens to take over as Chief Executive. The factions of the Republican party in full control of the Legislature had wearied of the non-partisan controversy. The Direct Primary bill of that session provided:

(1) Candidates for State offices and for the Legislature should be nominated as partisans.

(2) But such candidates should be privileged to have their names on ballots of parties other than their own.

Such were the simple provisions of the "Cross-filing Law," (the 1917 Direct Primary Law).

But "cross-filing" was not to be left that simple.

When the measure was pending in the Assembly, Assemblyman Henry Hawson offered an amendment which provided that:

> No candidate for nomination for other than a judicial, school, county, township or municipal office who fails to receive the highest number of votes for the nomination of the political party with which he was affiliated thirty-five days before the date of the primary election, as ascertained by the Secretary of State from the affidavit of registration of such candidate in the office of the county clerk in which county such candidate resides, *shall be entitled to be the candidate of any other political party. (Page 1207, Assembly Journal 1917 Session.)*

In a word, candidates for State offices and for the Legislature who were "cross-filing," were barred from accepting nominations of a party or parties other than their own, unless they received the nomination of their own party.

The non-partisan faction apparently failed to recognize that the Hawson amendment defeated the objective for which they were working; namely, election of State officials and members of the Legislature by majority vote. The Hawson amendment was adopted. The full effect of the amendment came the following year (1918) at the State Direct Primaries. The State Republican primary vote for Governor gave Governor Stephens 168,942, James Rolph, Jr., 146,990, Hayes, 24,676, Bordwell 17,038, Fickert 13,259, McGee 4,014—Stephens' plurality over Rolph, 21,952. This gave Stephens the Republican nomination.

The Democrats gave Rolph 74,955 votes, Francis J. Heney 60,662, Woolwine 28,879—Rolph's plurality over Heney, 14,293, would have given Rolph the Democratic nomination, had it not been for the Hawson amendment. Without the Hawson amendment, Stephens and Rolph would have run it off at the November final election.

However, Rolph was a registered Republican. Under the Hawson amendment, having failed to secure the nomination of his own party, Rolph could not accept the nomination of the Democratic party. The Democrats demanded that he go on the ballot by petition as Democratic nominee. But Rolph had had his chance at the primaries. The Democrats then insisted that Heney, Rolph's runner-up, be the Democratic candidate. But the Democrats had had their chance to nominate and, under the Hawson amendment, had failed.

This left the Democratic party without a candidate for Governor on the November ballot.

Obviously, the "cross-filing" law should have been restored to its original intent by amendment to eliminate the Hawson provision. But for forty-two years (1917-1959) no such change was made. During that period, Legislators were elected by minority vote unheard of in the railroad-machine days of minority rule. For example:

At the 1924 direct primary election, in the Fifty-sixth Assembly District, Charles W. Cleary received a total of 5,510 votes; Frank M. Mixter, 3,503; Cleary's majority over Mixter, 2,007. Both were registered as Republicans. Cleary received 3,463 Republican votes; Mixter 3,503. This gave Mixter the Republican nomination by 40 votes. The Democrats nominated Cleary, but as he had not received the Republican nomination, he could not accept the Democratic. Cleary, with 5,510 primary votes, was barred from the November ballot. Mixter, with 3,503 votes, was the only Assembly party candidate for the District on the November ballot, and, of course, was elected.

Under the "Berkeley plan" adopted by California municipalities—

since 1911 applied to judicial and school officials, since 1913 to county officials, and extended to state officials and members of the Legislature by the referendum-defeated, non-partisan direct primary of 1915—Cleary, having received a majority of all the primary votes cast, would have been elected at the primaries. Without the Hawson amendment to the 1917 law, he and Mixter would have run it off at the final general election.

In the Second Assembly District, at the 1932 Direct Primaries, Clinton J. Fulcher received a total of 11,220 votes; Albert E. Ross, 5,001—Fulcher's majority over Ross, 6,219, 1,218 more than Ross's entire vote. Both were registered Republicans. Ross was nominated by the Republicans; Fulcher by the Democrats. But as Fulcher had lost the Republican nomination, he was barred from accepting the Democratic. Thus, Ross, with a popular vote of 5,001, against Fulcher's 11,220, had a place on the November Assembly ballot. The Democrats, who had cast 6,650 votes at the primaries, had no candidate on the ballot.

A simple amendment repealing the Hawson provision would have restored "cross-filing" to the effectiveness in securing majority election of State officials and legislators which its supporters intended. *Instead, with a swing back to partisan control, the 1959 Legislature repealed the forty-two-year-old "cross-filing" provisions of the Direct Primary Law.*

Nevertheless, the policy of non-partisanship still prevails in California. No attempt has been made to restore partisan election of municipal, county, school or judicial officials. In state-wide elections, examples of non-partisanship on the part of the electorate are significant. At the general election in 1950, for example, the Democratic registration was 1,117,393 greater than the Republican. Republican candidate for Governor, Earl Warren, defeated Democratic candidate James Roosevelt by a majority of 1,127,898 (2,461,754 for Warren; 1,333,856 for Roosevelt). Republican Warren received 516,942 more votes than his party registration. Democrat Roosevelt received 1,728,349 votes less than the number of Californians registered as Democrats.

This non-partisan trend extends even to partisan offices. The highest partisan office in the gift of the California electorate is that of United States Senator. In 1950, Democratic Congresswoman Helen

Gahagan Douglas ran against Republican Congressman Richard Nixon for the United States Senate. On party registration, Mrs. Douglas had enormous advantage over Nixon. For the 1950 election, the Democratic registration was 3,062,205; the Republican, 1,944,812, giving the Democrats a lead of 1,117,393. Not only did Nixon overcome the lead, but he defeated Mrs. Douglas by a majority of 680,947, the vote being 2,183,454 for Nixon, to 1,502,507 for Douglas. Republican Nixon received 238,642 more votes than the entire Republican registration. Mrs. Douglas received 1,559,698 votes less than the Democratic registration.

Governor Hiram W. Johnson said in his message to the 1915 Legislature, recommending non-partisan election of State officials and members of the Legislature: "In the State Government today, none holds a political party responsible for any specific act. All hold responsible the individual who is supposed to have caused the act."

Mazatlan to the Estanislao

The Narrative of Lewis Richard Price's Journey to California in 1849

WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES

By W. TURRENTINE JACKSON

THE BRITISH CONTRIBUTION to California's mining industry exceeded that of any other foreign nation. For a decade or more following the discovery of gold, trained miners from Cornwall and Devon arrived on the Pacific slope to provide physical strength and technical experience in reclaiming the precious metal. Machinery for quartz mills and equipment for transporting the ore from mine to mill were often designed and manufactured in England, carried by ship around the Horn to San Francisco, and then hauled overland to the mining districts. British capital provided an even greater boost to mining development. After news of the gold discovery in California reached Britain, London financiers eagerly organized joint stock enterprises to explore the Sierra Nevada for new deposits or to purchase quartz-lode claims already found by men lacking the necessary capital to exploit them. Twenty-odd California gold-quartz mining companies were in the London market in 1853, representing an estimated investment of $10,000,000.[1] Most of these enterprises ended in disaster and investors who suffered heavy financial losses withdrew from California as a field for investment.[2]

At the beginning of 1870, San Francisco's *Scientific Press* noted, "Our mines are attracting the attention of European capitalists, and

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This account of a trip to California in 1849 was located in the family papers of Richard Lewis Price deposited in the County Record Office, Shirehall, County of Salop, Shrewsbury, England. It is reprinted here with the permission of the executors of the Price estate and through the cooperation of Mary C. Hill, county archivist, and the British Association for American Studies. The Price papers were obtained by Professor Jackson when he was in England during 1958 as a Guggenheim Fellow. *Editor.*

already several have passed into the hands of English companies. This is but the beginning; we have plenty of developed workings, which, if properly managed, would surely yield profits large enough to attract foreign capital."[3] The boom in company registration was so great during 1870-1872 that the English press complained that a "mining mania" had developed. California was the favorite field for English investment. In two years a half-dozen companies capitalized at £40,000 to £325,000 were registered on the London Stock Exchange to work in the state.[4] The fabulous success of the Sierra Buttes Mining Company, Limited, was a significant factor in promoting this boom. From its inception in 1870, this company distributed annual dividends of 20 per cent and earned a great deal more. Once the first dividend was declared, the £2 shares never sold for less than £4 on the London market. Lewis Richard Price, who served as Chairman of the Board of Directors of the Sierra Buttes Mining Company, became an influential member of a syndicate of investors in California mining properties. Price was not a novice in California affairs as the following biographical account[5] concerning his early life and travel journal attest.

Lewis Richard Price was born in 1817 at Hendon House in Middlesex, England. His father, Stafford Price, and his mother, Margaret Davies, combined the landed estates of their respective families by their marriage and lived in the style of the gentry. To this union five sons and five daughters were born, Lewis being the fourth son. At ten years of age he and his brother Edward, two years older, were sent to a boarding school in Shrewsbury. In 1827 Lewis' mother left England with her daughters and youngest son to take up residence on the Continent. Many factors prompted this dispersal of the family. Stafford Price had run into financial difficulties caused, in part, by the behavior of an unsatisfactory partner in a London currier business and, in part, by his inability to recover a large loan made to the Colombian government. Additional financial pressure was caused by the chronic illness of his oldest daughter, Margaret. With reverses, Stafford Price became irascible and unreasonable.

Each of the older boys, Stafford, Jr., Daniel, and Edward, attempted, in turn, to assist their father in the London business. None was able to work or live harmoniously with him. Daniel left England to seek his fortune in Mexico in December, 1827; Stafford went to Canada the following year, made an unfortunate marriage for an eldest son from the viewpoint of his family, and died young; Edward began a life of wandering that came to a close in Canada in 1845.

As a lad of twelve years, Lewis had been left behind in school when his mother went to Paris. Here he stayed until 1833 when his father arranged a position for him in Mexico with a large British-owned mercantile house, Messrs. Manning and Marshall. Lewis later recorded his reaction in a "personal narrative" of his life: "I accepted at once, wishing to do something to maintain myself, and not be a burden to my father, whose large family . . . weighed heavily on him at that time. I was not 17 years old, and it was full young to break my education, and go out in the world, but openings for young men are not met with every day, and I consequently left school." Sailing from Liverpool, young Price arrived in Vera Cruz in early June, 1833, after a voyage of 56 days. Mexico was, as usual, in a state of revolution and permission had to be obtained from the state governor to make the trip inland to Mexico City where he joined his brother Dan. The following year Mr. Marshall arrived in Mexico, established a branch office of his firm in Vera Cruz, and placed Dan Price in charge. Lewis was transferred to this agency six years later. He spent three months in New Orleans during 1843 purchasing large supplies of cotton under the terms of a permit granted by the Mexican government to the mercantile house. The young Englishman returned to Louisiana the following year to complete the negotiations. Financial rewards from these two years apparently were great enough to justify his promotion to a better post at Vera Cruz.

News of his mother's death had reached Lewis Price upon his return from New Orleans in 1845 and he immediately resigned his position to visit his family in Europe. His shock was confided in his autobiography: "It had been a very sad blow to me to lose my poor beloved mother. I was only twelve years old when I last saw her, and now she was gone. She was one of those beautiful characters more frequently read of than actually met with in this world."

Lewis set sail for Mexico again in 1847 on the Royal Mail Steamer *Tweed.* During a tropical storm, the ship struck the reefs off the Bank of Campeche, broke asunder, and one hundred and ten passengers and crew were lost. Thirty survivors were picked up off the reef by a

Spanish merchant vessel and taken to the port of Sisal on the Yucatan Peninsula. By chartering canoes, Price traveled down the coast to Vera Cruz only to find the town under bombardment by United States forces.

The Price brothers had now established business firms of their own in Mexico and Lewis Price's partners requested him to take up residence in Culiacán in Northwest Mexico where they operated a mint producing gold coins under contract for the Mexican government. When the news of California gold discoveries reached Mexico in 1849, Lewis was chosen to go to San Francisco to appraise mining conditions in general and specifically to investigate the prospects for the establishment of a mint to provide gold coins for the new settlers. In an autobiography, prepared toward the close of his life, Lewis Price dismissed the venture with this brief notation: "In Sept. 1849 I visited California where gold in large quantities had just been discovered and after traveling in those wilds in tents or under trees for 2 months, I returned to Culiacán. Carried my strong silver mug at my saddle bow." Fortunately the young Englishman preserved a narrative of his California travels written in 1849 when his impressions were fresh. Herein he tells of his voyage up the Pacific Coast, of the conditions in San Diego, San Francisco, San Jose and Stockton, and of the miners' life at the Woods' Creek diggings on the Stanislaus River and at Hawkins' Bar on the Tuolumne River.

The Narrative

I left Mazatlan on 8th September in the Steamer *Oregon* with a crowd of passengers of the most motley description you can imagine, a very prevalent custom amongst whom appeared to be, to wear their pantaloons inside their boots.[6] Red jersey shirts and large uncombed beards with rifles, revolvers, and bowie knives, were much in vogue. The rush and scramble for places at the table can be easily imagined amongst about one hundred passengers, who were *accomodated?* in the cabin. The table however was plentifully supplied, and therefore a little delay was the only inconvenience experienced from the embargo laid upon all the dishes on the table by a few of the most enterprizing. Chewing tobacco was in demand. Besides the 100 cabin passengers the *Oregon* conveyed 200 steerage passengers and it is surprizing that in this large number of human beings shut up in a vessel for upwards of 20 days there should not have arisen a simple dispute or quarrel.

On the evening of 13th we arrived at the port of San Diego, the first port belonging to the United States, the boundary line by the late treaty being drawn one league south of the most Southern point of this bay.

The entrance into this harbour is very narrow, and the bay itself although long, does not appear to be capable of containing any large number of vessels as the greater part is shallow. We anchored just inside the bay about two cables length from the shore, where there are only two or three wooden stores or rather barns which were used as a deposit for skins. Skins, and tallow—the only trade of this place—the village itself, very insignificant in size is about 5 miles from this point.[7] As the vessel remained two days to take in coal, numbers of the passengers availed themselves of the opportunity of taking a tour on shore, horses were asked for but not to be had. I was fortunate in obtaining one through the kindness of one of the officers of the Mexican commission of limits, and spent two days very equably with General García Condé.[8]

San Diego is a barren looking spot, the only thing growing on the shore being the iceplant, which although curious and pretty in a flower pot, is very uninteresting where all the shore is covered with it. The country in the vicinity of S. Diego is hilly and barren near the sea but inland there are many fertile spots, and I saw some pretty good apples, pears, and grapes, said to be produced a short distance in the interior.

We left San Diego at 8 p.m. on 15th and touching at a pretty looking place, Santa Barbara, on 16th, we arrived at Monterey at midnight on 17th, merely leaving the mail, and some passengers, and reached S. Francisco at 10 a.m. on 18 Sep.—our total number of passengers was upwards of 400, as we had taken upwards of 100 at S. Diego—being men who had come overland from New York having been 7 months out and suffered much. The curious assemblage of men we took in at S. Diego may be better imagined than described, but what struck us here for the first time was to see good looking, and gentlemanly men in the uncouth garb of the travelers of the West—it may be remarked that all distinctions arising from dress are swept away in California, the humblest in dress being very frequently the most respectable.

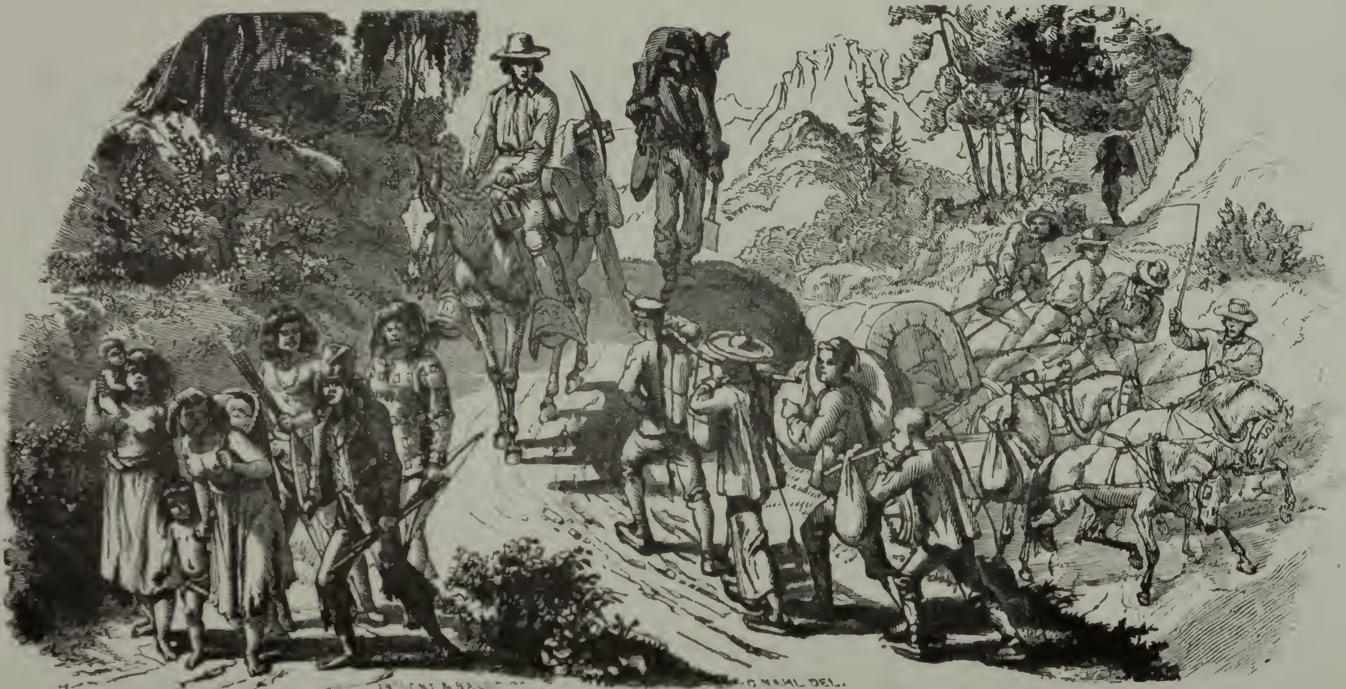
The entrance to the harbour of S. Francisco is fine and bold, and I should suppose easily found, if it were not for the constant fogs that hang over the land, which do not permit its being seen from any great distance.

On rounding the hill that shuts in the bay—a whole forest of masts presented itself to our view—and in the rear the busy port itself (in the shape of an amphitheatre)—composed of wooden houses and tents, the houses forming the center of the tents clustering around on the outskirts. Having found a boat & paid 6$ dollars for landing myself and baggage (a trunk & small carpet bag)—I proceeded in search of a lodging, and was fortunate in being recommended to a quiet, and respectable place. My bed room was 4½ feet wide, and 10 or 11 feet long—sufficient to sleep in, and that was all—for this accomodation I had to pay 12½$—or 50 shillings a week—and 12 shillings a day for my board—exclusive of wine. The servants in the house were earning from 100 to 200$—20 to 40£ per *month* wages—and one of them who waited at table was, an englishman—a young *solicitor!!* He has since got a good employment in one of the law courts at 10$ a day.

Every one in Europe is more familiar now with S. Francisco, than they are with many towns in Europe—it is therefore needless to describe it. I cannot however forbear making a remark on the hustle, and immense business going on there. In any old settled place you may estimate the females equal in number to the males and aged persons and children are again ½ the population therefore the visible portion of a town, is perhaps not more than one fourth of its population, whereas in S. Francisco all are men (with very few exceptions) and all these men are in the street almost all day—the movement therefore supposing the actual population to be 30,000 is equivalent to that of 120,000 souls in any other place. In fact it resembles a very large fair.

Some idea may be found of the stir and activity when it is considered that in the early part of the present year scarcely any thing but tents existed, and now the streets of houses extend far and wide—in 20 days that I was absent from the town whole streets had arisen as though by enchantment.

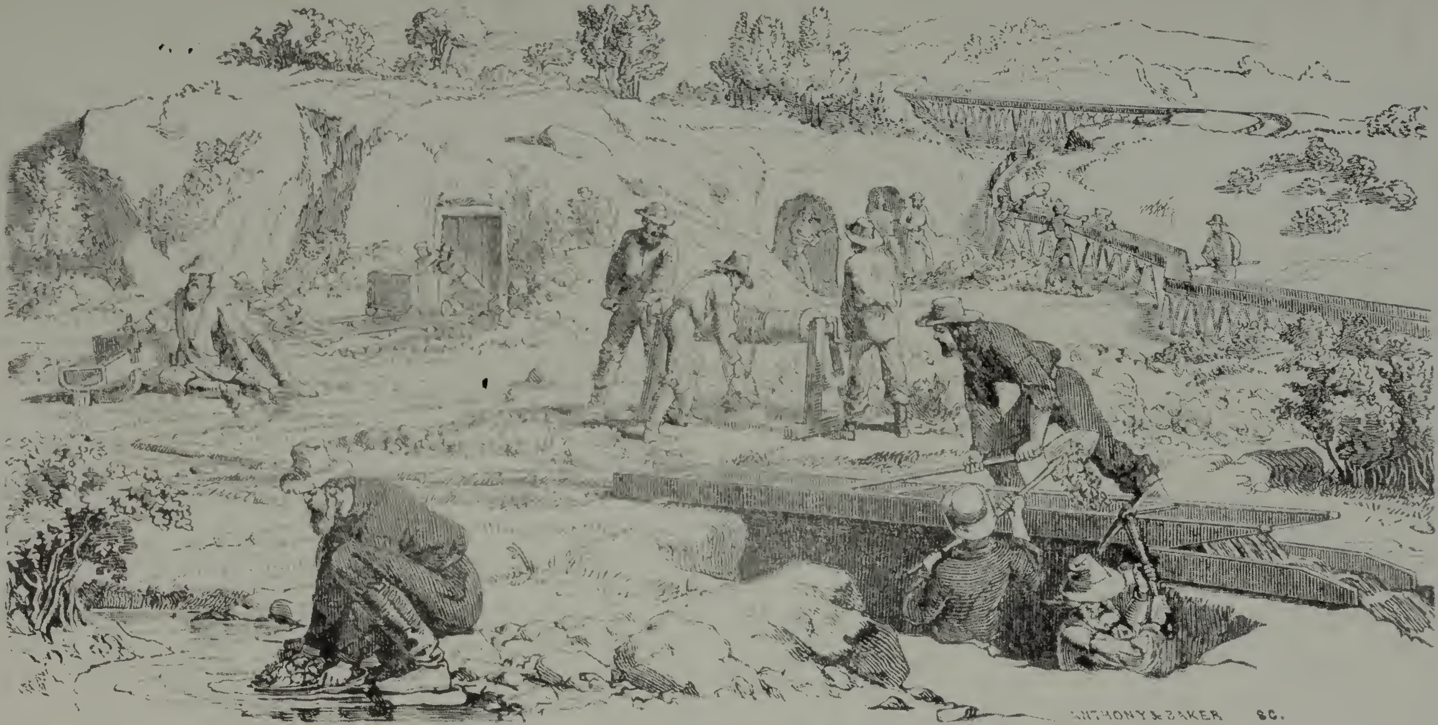
The view from the town on a clear day (a very rare occurrence) is very beautiful the hills on the other side of the bay presenting a thousand varied tints—this I only saw once, for fog generally covered the whole.



Published at the Wide West office, San Francisco.

A ROAD SCENE IN CALIFORNIA.

Lettersheet from the Society's collection. A recent gift from Mrs. David Potter.


ANTHONY & BAKER SC.

[Published at the WIDE WEST OFFICE, 184 Clay Street, San Francisco.]

HOW THE CALIFORNIA MINES ARE WORKED.

Lettersheet from the Society's collection

The climate I do not think can ever be agreeable—the wind and dust are insufferable. The nights and early mornings were very cold, and are so even in summer. I have been informed gradually as the day wears on the weather becomes warmer but about noon or an hour later the wind commences and gradually cools the air, till at about 6 p.m. it is positively cold—of course in a sandy place like S. Francisco, the clouds of dust render it very annoying to walk about after the wind gets up.

Having been in S. Francisco 12 days and seen all the wonders I purchased mules to go to the "placeres." I had with me Mr. Douglass, the engraver of the mint.[9] I therefore purchased after some trouble 3 animals—two for us to ride and one to carry our blankets and some provisions—the latter consisted of "tasajo" jerked beef and biscuit with some sugar & tea. We left S. Francisco with the intention of going to S. Jose about 20 leagues in two days but we reckoned with our host.[10] We left S. Francisco at about 4 p.m. and by the time night closed in we had only made 4 or 5 leagues—owing to the pack mule giving us a good deal of trouble—we had no servant, and not being accustomed to pack a mule everything seemed to possess life, and slip off as fast as we tied it on. Having found a spot where there was water, and grass we passed the night there. The next day we made a pretty fair journey—we got more into the way of packing the mule and thus managed to have 12 leagues and the next morning early reached S. Jose.

The road from S. Francisco for the first league is nothing but loose sand—the ground in many parts however was covered with strawberries (the Plants)—the hills abounded in a kind of dwarf oak. Here (one league from S. Fsco.) is the mission of Dolores now like all the missions in California—nearly abandoned. From the mission for about 6 leagues further on the same sand hills continue but being older—they are firmer and covered with short grass. After this you enter upon a plain which continues the whole way to S. Jose—for about four leagues the plain was covered with wild oats affording good pasturage—but water was very scarce. One league before arriving at S. Jose stands the mission of S. Clara which seems to have been a rich, and fertile place—but now nearly abandoned. An avenue one league long conducts you from this place to S. Jose.

S. Jose is a small village situated about 9 miles from the extreme southern point of the bay of S. Francisco. It is in a large plain and has two small streams that supply it with water. Having been made the capital of the state by the late convention, it is likely to become a place of some importance. The intended city is already laid out, and all the lots bought with avidity.

The celebrated Quicksilver mine is situated about 15 miles to the south of this place and I had an opportunity of seeing it.[11] The road to the mine from S. Jose is a plain studded with beautiful oaks—having all the appearance of an english park. Here also the climate is more agreeable—the cold winds of S. Francisco being rarely felt so far inland. The soil is fertile and I found an abundance of good pears, apples, grapes. Continuing our road we entered into some ravines in the hills—and soon arrived at the house of Mr. Walkinshaw, the director of the mines.[12] The house is situated in a pretty ravine, a small stream of clear sparkling water running past it. But the place is still in its infancy for only a few labourers houses, a forge, and a store house existed, there being no means yet prepared for the reduction of the ores to a metallic state.

The morning after our arrival we ascended the hill to visit the mine, which is situated very near the summit. At the mouth of the mine, on either side, were large heaps of ore weighing about 6000 cargas or 18000 quintals the greater part of this ore is said to produce 75 to 80 percent of quicksilver—but even allowing it should altogether produce only 50 percent—it would yield 9000 quintals which at the present value in Mexico 125¢ would be worth 1,125,000 dollars.[13] More ore might have been extracted but the owners have only worked the mine with the lowest number of men the laws will admit of as they had no machinery to reduce the ores if extracted, and would only have incurred a useless expense in a further accumulation. At the end of October when I was leaving S. Francisco, I heard that the necessary machinery had arrived. I got a few specimens of the cinnabar, but it was too heavy to take any large piece. I was shown before leaving the mines a large vein of asbestos. The indians in California I have heard make wicks of it, which of course are incombustible, and consequently last for any length of time.

After seeing the mine I returned to San Jose and thence proceeded to Stockton about 90 or 100 miles to the east.

Stockton is a small village that has sprung up entirely since the discovery of the "placeres," being the depot from which all the southern placeres are supplied, and some of the northern also are customers. Although the trade is tolerably brisk it is chiefly carried on in tents, there being only 3 or 4 houses built. Many however, were constructing, and the place will no doubt increase considerably—unless the S. Joaquin river (on a branch of which it is situated) should be found navigable further up—if this be the case Stockton will fall as rapidly as it is rising because the consumers which are the placeres on the Estanislao, Tahualame [*sic*] &c &c will all obtain their necessaries much more cheaply at some higher point. In fact Stockton has only risen into importance from being the highest navigable point on the S. Joaquin and when this ceases to be the case its importance will also cease.

The road from S. Jose to Stockton is by no means interesting. Our first days journey led us through the mission of S. Jose now almost abandoned. The padres in former years appear to have made it a flourishing little place, as the remains of the indian huts testify to the number of their converts. There is a fine garden, well stocked with apples pears & peaches & they have a large vineyard—wine was made there—I tasted some, which was sufficiently palatable—similar to some of the red wines of Italy. The distance from S. Jose is said to be six leagues but I should say five was nearer the mark. From the mission we continued our road through some low hills which formed the plain of S. Jose, and after a long, and tiresome ride arrived at about 7 p.m. at the rancho de las Positas. The Rancho belongs to an Englishman named Livermore, and he having been 12 years in the country & married to a Californian possessing a large rancho with 600 head of cattle and a vineyard—I fully expected to find comfortable quarters, and abundant fodder, & therefore I was not at all distressed at finding nothing for the mules at the mission of S. Jose but I set forward cheerfully in hope of reaching the Positas—imagine then my disappointment at finding the house of the Rancho little better than a pigsty, and not a blade of grass nor hay nor straw for our poor animals to eat—to turn the mules loose on the plain would have been to lose them, unless we had hobbled them, and the pasturage was so scarce that in this way they would have eaten nothing.[14] There was some bad wheat in the house with which we were fain to content ourselves, and make the mules fast to some strong posts for the night. Mr. Douglass had not sufficiently fastened a little mare we had, and the consequence was that she escaped during the night, which delayed us a whole day though in the evening just as we had purchased another animal—a poor raw boned macho—we heard of a horse or mare having been seen about 5 miles off.[15] I sent Mr. Douglass and a man to look if it was our mare and I took the mules out in the meanwhile to see if they could pick up a mouthful of dry weeds from off the plain, and by night we were all back with our animals at the rancho the mare having been found. The next day we set off for the pass of the S. Joaquin—and slept at a tent 5 miles to the west of the pass—distance from the Positas 30 miles—here we found good pasture, and our poor hungry beasts ate their fill. One horse died during the night from the effects of the bad wheat at the Positas, and several others were foundered. Ours fortunately stood the bad food very well. The next day we left for Stockton where we arrived early, the distance being only 20 miles.

It was the 14th October when we arrived at Stockton and here I was attacked with a severe cold & fever from sleeping on the damp ground in wet clothes. I was thus delayed four whole days here, but got away on the 18 in the afternoon, and rode 12 miles to a small tent on the plain about S. of Stockton, where we found some hay and barley—dear, but still it was indispensable to take it. From the tent we proceeded over a dreary plain 20 miles wide unrelieved by a single tree, and excessively dusty. We saw some herds of antelope but a long way off. We left at six in the morning—at about 3 o'clock p.m. arrived at the River Estanislao, a very pretty and fresh looking stream, but the verdure was only on its banks which were high—for at 100 or 200 yards the plain was as barren and dreary as ever, though we left the plain on the right hand—& continued up the bank of the Estanisloa till we arrived at Barnets ferry where we passed the night.[16] What the distance was from our previous resting place, I have no idea but I suppose it must be 30 to 35 miles—here again we found fodder but very expensive—barley being 4 rials (2/) a pound—between 40 & 50 £ the quarter! ! From Barnets we rode to the mountain inn (20th)—what a romantic moon. But when we arrived there we found only a miserable tent, where we could get *nothing*, and with respect to the mountains—they were low barren hills or else had a few stunted oak trees.

After passing the inn, however, the trees became more plentiful and of a larger size—some of them indeed very handsome but not a blade of grass. Nothing but the barren dry earth. At night we camped out in a valley about 30 miles from Barnets. Here we found a frenchman and a few Chilians, but what they were there for I could not make out, for they had food neither for man nor beast. Fortunately by scrambling up the side of a hill we found some grass which from its difficulty of access had not been touched, and up there we managed to get our mules, secure that they would not be stolen for I am sure no one could have got them down the place being so steep. There was a small spring in the valley—and near it some very fine oak trees—and we speedily kindled a good fire and brought out our biscuit and jerked beef. I carried a little tea and sugar and a small tin mug tied to my saddle. I had soon therefore a cup of tea ready—the leaves sugar and all mixed up together but still it was something warm and as the nights were very cold, and the dew heavy—it was sufficiently palatable—the jerked beef was soon warmed and we made a very good supper.

The 21st we proceeded to Woods' creek to see the diggings.[17] As it was Sunday but few were at work—we met a man who was delving in a small water course, and borrowed his tools. I tried to dig but soon gave it up, for the sun overpowered one very soon. I was not sufficiently recovered from my sickness in Stockton. Mr. Douglass dug for a short time—and got out a few dollars of gold but I did not wait for him to get more. At the "*diggings*" we remained about 3 or 4 hours looking at their works. The men were getting an average of about ½ an ounce a day. The stream was almost dry when I was there but presented the aspect of a strong mountain torrent, large masses of stones showed that in the raining season it must be a fierce and turbulent stream. The bed of the river was shut in between high banks—on one of those I saw a large ledge of quartz which the Americans call "placer blossoms," they can be seen from a great distance on account of their being perfectly white. I examined one ridge—but I saw no traces of gold . . . All the quartz containing gold, and which was readily acted on by the water—has been destroyed, and the gold deposited in the placeres. It gave me a melancholy feeling to see the state in which people were living, not all had tents, and those that had, could at best but pass but a wretched time of it—bedsteads of any kind are out of the question, all sleep on the ground—time is too precious to be thrown away in seeking comfort—gold is all they came for and gold is all they care about. Although deprived of many comforts, which may even be called necessaries, yet they are supplied with many luxuries! I saw plenty of wine and *champagne* above all things! But I fancy that they consumed but little of this—their taste being more for brandy. Many a miner have died from the disorderly live [*sic*] they lead. The days are acessively [*sic*] hot, and the men work hard. Their principal food is coffee, biscuit & salt pork; all things likely to predispose them to sickness—it can easily be imagined, in what a state of heat almost of fever, night finds the miners in. To increase this many take brandy—and then over fatigued may throw themselves down to sleep. The nights are very cold and altho' in the state in which the bodies of the miners always are, cold is less sensibly felt, yet it produced a not less injurious effect. Dysentery is the result too often followed by death. Of course many escape either because their habits of life are more simple and less disorderly—or because in spite of the license they take they have strength to go through it. Still much illness must be the inevitable consequence of life in the placeres. One of the most curious features in the scene is to find delicate and polished young men in the filthy dress of a miner, dress as I have said before ceases to be any distinction.

A pretty sure indication of the presence of gold in the country, is to find on the surface of the ground small but very numerous pieces of quartz, and the peculiar red colour of the earth. (The latter is about the color of the earth in the Island of Capri), & when these indications are accompanied by pieces of magnetic Iron *(tapustete* in Mexico) gold is sure to be found.[18] It is not however by any means certain that the gold existing will repay the digging, nor do I believe that there is any superficial indication by which the richness of any spot can be determined, long habit alone can guide the gold digger in the proper place he should select for his operations, and that this is the case appears to be borne out by the fact, that the adventurers from Sonora have been more successful than any others, and they are men who from their infancy are accustomed to live amongst "placeres."

The general aspect of the country at this season is barren, there are nevertheless some fine oaks, and a few pines. I picked 5 or 6 different classes of acorns and a few seeds of the pine. But the former are not easy to find in a good state for after preserving them for some weeks I found that they almost all contained a worm. After the rains when the ground is covered with verdure the country must be very pretty.

We returned at night (21st) to our Bivouac under the oak tree, and left the next morning.

22nd Oct for Hawkins bar on the Tahualame.[19] This is a much neater, and more comfortable appearance than the camp at Woods' diggings, but the amount of suffering, I should suppose is much the same, & that its superiority is confined to its appearance.

The hills that shut in the river Tahualame at this point are very high and exceedingly steep. I remained here the greater part of the day—saw some of the diggings—the people were doing well—and generally seemed satisfied with their proceedings. Some regularity appeared to have been established in the workings—the place being parcelled out into small patches of which one is assigned to anyone who wishes it but he cannot encroach on his neighbour. The washing was done here in common rockers—the gold got out was small, like bran, but of a very good quality. No quicksilver was used—and I believe it has only been used hitherto up at the north in the Mormon diggings, &c.

I informed myself at this place from a man who had just arrived from the River Mariposas, about the vein said to have been discovered by Col. Fremont, and was told that it was only a very small vein which had been worked out—that there were 2 days journey to the place, and that there was no fodder of any kind for the mules. As I had taken my passage in the steamer of 1st Nov., I determined on making the best of my way back to S. Francisco.

I left Hawkins bar on my way back, and encamped about a league and half thence where we found plenty of grass, but a scanty supply of not very good water. We had met some men on the road who had been robbed of their horses by the indians so we tethered our beasts near our bivouac, lit a large fire, and got our arms ready—as we rather suspected from what we heard that they were *white* indians. Many of the American soldiers had deserted and were roving about the country, and scarcely had we lit our fire when a man came towards us from out of the woods—we questioned him, and he gave a very confused account of himself, and amongst other things said he had come from

Hawkins bar—we told him that was impossible as we had come from that place, and should have seen him. He then said he had left after us—now this was not possible for we came at a good round pace and had only just arrived on horseback. I am sure that man had an eye to our mules. I was resolved however that he should not have them, and kept on the look out till late at night when I awoke the servant, and made him sit up till day broke.

23rd—Left our place of encampment early and retracing our previous road arrived at Barnets ferry where we slept.

23rd Continued along the left bank of the Estanislao downwards for about 12 or 14 miles when we crossed, and continued on the right bank for 6 or 8 miles more, where there was plenty of grass, and here we camped for the night. Evening was passed before we arrived at the place, and we had some trouble in the dark to find the path, or opening—in the low brushwood to the place. At the crossing of the Estanislao we saw an immense number of trails of jackals (coyotes) wolves, & bear, but saw none of the animals themselves, except jackals which we saw every night and heard too, for they make a very sharp shrill barking noise.

24th Left early and rode about 20 miles where we stopped to take some breakfast. The mules were thirsty but the banks of the river were so steep that we found it impossible to get them down to water. We however managed to get the water up to them by using a large pair of water proof boots as buckets, a novel employment for boots. I saw hundreds of salmon of all sizes but had no means of taking any. We made a hook out of a needle, with which I tried to fish, and soon succeeded in hooking a nice young fish of three or 4 pounds—but our hook having no barb, I no sooner had it on the steep bank than it unhooked itself and had soon got down into the river. What a disappointment! Any one that has been living for a week on tasajo, just about as tender as the sole of our old shoe, can imagine our disappointment. After breakfast (a frugal meal) we made 25 miles more arriving just about night at the tent on the west side of the San Joaquin—which river we crossed at the same ferry as before. We saw some of the largest bear tracks I have seen on the whole journey, tracks of what is called the grisly bear.

25th Rode today over the same road as we came to the "positas" where there being, as we knew, nothing for our mules to eat—we continued our road about 6 miles further where we had seen a stream of water. Here we bivouacked for the last time—during the night we were visited by a whole tribe of large grey wolves. I was told that they did not attack people, but they were too near to be pleasant—I should think about 25 to 30 paces off, and I had some trouble in keeping up the fire—a thick fog with a drizzling rain came on and wet all the firewood. I collected a large quantity of wood, and dried it, and when I did get a blaze I made a huge fire. The wolves then set up a yell and left us.

26th Arrived at S. Jose about 24 miles—distance from S. Jose to Hawkins bar—about 160 miles.

At S. Jose I tried to get rid of the mules but could get no offer for them on account of the bad condition they were in for want of proper food. I therefore left them with a friend and took my place in the diligence!—a cart on springs—and arrived at S. Francisco at 10 a.m. on 29th.[20]

The plant I saw very abundant is the "yedra" or Ivy—but the Americans call it poisonous oak, and I was told the same plant exists in Carolina U.S. On some persons it produces a very painful effect, one person I saw whose hands were full of sores—told me that he had been suffering for 20 days from having merely touched a plant. On other people it produced no effect at all. A little child of Mr. Walkinshaw's at the Q silver mine was also affected in the same way. It is a shrub of some 5 or 6 feet high—except where it grows near a tree where it runs up like Ivy. The leaf is more the shape of the maple than of Ivy.

The port of S. Francisco was very much changed when I returned the astonishing rapidity with which it grows appears as though some supernatural cause had magically created it.

I left S. Fco in the "Panama" on 1st and touching at Monterey & S. Diego arrived at Mazatlan on 10th Nov., where I found the Cholera committing great ravages for so small a place.[21]

Not finding any letter I proceeded to Culiacán.

NOTES

1. J. D. Whitney, *The Metallic Wealth of the United States, Described and Compared with that of Other Countries*, p. 142.

2. Rodman W. Paul, *California Gold, the Beginning of Mining in the Far West*, p. 301.

3. *Scientific Press*, January 1, 1870.

4. Skinner, *The Stock Exchange Year-Book, 1879*, pp. 179-189.

5. This account is based upon two sources: Price's unpublished autobiography that he describes as a "personal narrative," and notes prepared by Miss E. M. Jancey while cataloguing the complete family papers.

6. The *Oregon*, belonging to the Pacific Mail Steamship Company, was the second steamer to arrive in California from the east coast on April 1, 1849. The vessel carried back the first mail, passengers, and gold to Panama, and continued to make regular journeys between San Francisco and Panama. Lewis Richard Price apparently was a passenger on her third trip which began on August 28, 1849, at the Isthmus and ended in San Francisco, September 18, 1849. Bancroft, *History of California*, VI, p. 138.

7. This is a reference to the Spanish village located near the presidio, some distance from the Bay of San Diego. See Andrew F. Rolle, "William Heath Davis and the Founding of American San Diego," *California Historical Society Quarterly*, XXXI (1952), pp. 33-48.

8. General Pedro García Condé was the commanding officer of the Mexican Commission to delineate the international boundary. See John Russell Bartlett, *Personal Narrative of Explorations and Incidents . . . connected with the United States and Mexican Boundary Commission*, Vol. I, pp. 150-151. Condé, an able engineer, had been Mexican Secretary of War and Navy, director of the National Military College, and a member of the Mexican Congress.

9. The Culiacán mint operated by Lewis Price and his business associates. Douglass accompanied Price in this California venture to give expert advice.

10. Price seems to be suggesting here an error in judgement or a lack of knowledge of California distances.

11. A reference to the New Almadén mine.

12. Robert Walkinshaw stated that from the month of April, 1847, he was in lawful possession and owner of one-eighth interest in the New Almadén mine. See United States *vs.* Andres Castillero: "New Almadén," Transcript of Record. Four volumes. Walkinshaw was a Scot who had resided in Mexico before coming to California. He left the state in 1858 and died in Scotland the following year. See Bancroft, *History of California*, V, p. 766.

13. A *quintal* is a 100 lb. weight; three *cargas* make a *quintal*.

14. Robert Livermore, an English sailor, had a rancho on the upper Alameda. Livermore Pass was on the route from San Jose to the Sacramento Valley. Bancroft says that the Rancho Las Positas belonged to Livermore's neighbor, José

Noriega. Ogden Hoffman, *Reports of Land Cases Determined in the United States District Court of the Northern District of California* (1862) states that José Noriega and Robert Livermore were joint claimants to Las Positas, two square leagues, and that their claims were confirmed in February, 1859.

15. A *macho* is a male mule.

16. This may be a reference to Burnett's Ferry. See "Map of Central California" in *History of Stanislaus County* (Wallace W. Elliott & Co., Publishers, 1881).

17. Woods' Creek was reported to be the richest stream of its size in the Stanislaus District. It was discovered by a party of Philadelphians, under the leadership of Reverend James Woods, in the summer of 1848. This party made the first penetration into Tuolumne County. See *A History of Tuolumne County California* (B. F. Alley, Publisher, 1882), pp. 1-3.

18. Fr. Luis Sales in a note to Carta I of his *Noticias de la Provincia de Californias* . . ., Valencia, 1794, defines "tepustetes" as ". . . certain pebbles which the silver veins produce." English trans. by Charles Rudkin. (Los Angeles: Dawson's Book Shop. p. 22.)

19. Hawkins' Bar was among the largest on the Tuolumne River in 1850 and was still a center of activity five years later.

20. The *diligencia* was a stagecoach used throughout Mexico and Spanish California. It was a four-wheeled vehicle with room for several passengers.

21. The *Panama* was another Pacific Mail Steamship Company vessel. Company records indicate that it was the *California* that left San Francisco on November 2, rather than the *Panama*, arriving at the Isthmus on November 22. The *Panama* did not leave the Golden Gate until November 15. Price may have been in error.

Orleans Bar

By Howard B. Melendy

Klamath County is the only county in the State of California that has been dissolved and absorbed by the adjacent counties.[1] This county was created by an act of the state legislature in 1853[2] which act described the county boundary as:

> Begin in the ocean 3 miles west of the mouth of Mad river. Thence due east, along the north line of Trinity county, to summit of coast range. Thence northerly, along summit, to 42 degree north latitude. Thence west to ocean and 3 miles therein. Thence southeasterly, parallel with coast, to beginning.

Trinidad was the first county seat and in 1854 the seat of government was moved to Crescent City, in the northwestern corner of the state.

After the creation of Del Norte County it became necessary to locate a new county seat for Klamath County and a general election was held on the 5th day of September 1855 and the voters declared themselves, by a large majority, in favor of removing the county seat from Crescent City to Orleans Bar. This was approved by the state legislature February 19, 1856.[3]

The Humboldt Times, established in September, 1854, in Eureka, California, as an independent weekly, published an article on Orleans Bar outlining the progress of the town from its inception, quoted as follows:

> ORLEANS BAR—The town bearing this name, since being selected as the county seat of justice of our neighboring county of Klamath, has become quite an important locality. Between the junction of the Trinity with the Klamath, and the mouth of the Salmon, the mountains recede from the river, forming a basin consisting in places of large bars at the river's edge, then, successively, bottoms, higher benches, table lands and red hills, running up into the mountains. On one of the bottoms, on the right bank of the Klamath about sixteen miles above the mouth of the Trinity and eight miles below that of the Salmon—stands the town of Orleans Bar. The bar from which the place takes its name was christened, we believe, by Captain Tompkins and Bob Williams in 1850.
>
> A party, in the spring of the same year, went up from the mouth of the

> Klamath—which had just previously been discovered by the sea, and two or three towns laid off, in canoes and the river being swollen it was supposed to be a navigable stream, and the party, concluded that 'New Orleans Bar' as it was first called, would be about the head of Navigation. As the season advanced, and the river dried up to a small stream, their town at the 'head of navigation' dried up also. During the spring and summer of 1851, after the Gold Bluff bubble had bursted, the crowd of disappointed adventurers, who had arrived at Trinidad in search of the golden sands, started for the Klamath and Salmon rivers.
>
> Orleans, during this summer was quite a prominent point, but towards fall the whole region was nearly abandoned, and the adventurers just mentioned, having gone to the mines without any intention of hard labor, and not finding gold scattered about on the surface, left for other sections.
>
> Since the summer of 1852 the mining population in that section as a general thing, being steadily on the increase and confidence as to richness and durability of the mines has also increased in proportion to the experience in working them. With half the capital and appliances employed in working the older mines, the Klamath and Salmon would afford remunerative employment to ten times the present number, and then not to be crowded as many other sections of the State.
>
> Mills are being erected, flumes and ditches constructed, tents are giving way to comfortable homes, in fact, things are generally assuming a permanent appearance.
>
> Several families have settled there this summer, enough to form a nucleus for a good society and soon schools and churches will follow. Several new mercantile firms have recently been established, a good sawmill is in operation and a company is now engaged in building a larger race from Camp Creek, which will enable the miners to work the high bars and large flats in the neighborhood. The prospects of the new county seat are certainly flattering.
>
> While upon this subject, we might as well call attention to the fact that we have no mail route between the Bay and that place. It would be well to take steps immediately to have a route established by way of Hoopa Valley to Orleans, then to Salmon.[4]

Orleans is located about six miles southeast from the northeast corner of Humboldt County in Section 36 Township 11 North, Range 5 East, Humboldt Meridian, and has an elevation of 519 feet on the west bank of the Klamath River. The population in 1856 was estimated at 70 persons, 42 of whom were miners, 10 farmers and the balance merchants and county officials.

The Board of Supervisors purchased a building, known as the Davis and Co. Building, for the sum of $1200,[5] to be used as a courthouse. This was a two-story building constructed by Garrett and Co., between 1851 and 1856. In the dissolution of Klamath County the courthouse and land were conveyed to the school trustees of Orleans School District,[6] by the commissioners of Humboldt and Siskiyou counties, who had authority to dispose of the assets of Klamath County.

A county hospital was an old building across the river from Orleans and the only access was by ferry. The property was purchased from Thomas Theophilus Aber and Elizabeth A. Aber, his wife, in 1866 for $800[7] and described as that certain house and garden, on the east side of Klamath River opposite the town of Orleans, known as the "Sims Property"—all houses, buildings, fences, fruit trees, vines, and irrigation rights, except rights pertaining to ferry. The hospital was one of the greatest expenses of the county and six years later the hospital building and lot were sold at public auction,[8] on February 1, 1872, in the amount of $135, and Lyman Bacon was the highest bidder. The property was conveyed to him by instrument recorded February 7, 1872.[9]

A school district was organized in 1867 comprising the area from the east boundary of Klamath County, down the Klamath River to 3 miles below Martin's Ferry and 3 miles up the Trinity River from its mouth.[10] School attendance varied between 5 and 20 pupils and as late as 1904 there were only 5 in attendance.

Several attempts had been made to establish a newspaper in Orleans. The first paper was known as the *Klamath News* consisting of four pages. Its principal source of income was the fee for publishing the proceedings of the Board of Supervisors.[11] Another paper, called the *Northern Record and Klamath County Advertiser*, was established in June 1870 by Henry Joseph Evans. *The Northern Independent* of Eureka, California, published an article concerning this latter paper as follows:

> We have received the 2nd number of a newspaper, called the Northern Record and Klamath County Advertiser, published at Orleans Bar, Klamath Co. by Henry J. Evans. Having seen no declarations of its principles we are unable to establish its political status: but if we are to judge from the political proclivities of its editor—we have to class it as leaning 'muchly' towards Democracy. Besides we should consider him a man of unsound judgement, who should attempt to publish any other than a Democratic paper in Klamath. It is neatly gotten up and is a very readable little sheet. We wish brother Evans success in his new enterprise.[12]

Later Mr. Evans changed the name of his paper to the *Klamath*

Courier. Evans was a native of Wales, England, and at the age of 45 he was naturalized an American citizen in Klamath County on October 7, 1867.[13] At one time Evans worked for the Sacramento *Bee.*

Mining was the principal industry of the area and as water was plentiful, many mines for gold were in operation along the river. At first the miners worked their individual claims but not being able to obtain much profit from the hard labor, they began to organize mining companies and as time went on practically all of the vicinity of Orleans was under the control of the California Mining and Dredging Syndicate. This British Corporation controlled 1,300 acres. This corporation sent Pedro Lewis Young, a mining engineer, to Orleans in 1887 to manage their affairs. Mr. Young was born May 15, 1867, in Utera, Spain. His father was in Spain at that time constructing a railroad from Moron to Seville for an English company. In January, 1890, one of the heaviest snows and rainfall ever to visit the area came suddenly upon the whole northern part of California. Mr. Young described the conditions and heavy loss and damage to the syndicate's property from which they never recovered. From a portion of his biography the following is taken:

> Everything was going along smoothly until Jan. 11, 1890 when we had a heavy snow fall of 30 inches over the whole country, this was followed by a warm rain and a high river which rose 35 feet at Orleans and with the help of the Trinity River, the Klamath rose 85 feet at Martin's Ferry. We had no telephone or telegraph lines in those days and Mr. William Lord, who owned a store here and was also interested in several mines on the river, determined we should go down to the coast and send a cablegram to the company in England. I saw Camp Creek rise about 30 feet and carry the bridge away. We crossed the Creek with a block and tackle and started on Feb. 10th 1890. We went on the trail on the right hand side of the river and reached Martin's Ferry safely and stayed over night with Wm. Dowd, who kept a stopping place and also owned the ferry boat. The Ferry was out of commission and we employed 3 Indians and a canoe and they took us down the river to Tuley creek, on the left bank of the river. Here we got out and walked up the mountain trail—crossed the Bald Hills and went down to Beaver's on Redwood Creek. We finally reached Arcata and Eureka, about forty miles further, and finding all telegraph lines were out they told me I would have to go to San Francisco. I sailed on a little steamer called the Pomona. I landed safely at San Francisco and sent a message to the Company in London telling them of the disaster. I had left Orleans on the 10th Feb. 1890 and left Eureka for San Francisco on 16th Feb. and returned to Eureka on 22nd. The Company did not attempt any repairs to the canal as it was badly wrecked.

I leased the property, from the Company, paying them a royalty for the next ten years. I sold the mine, for the Company, in 1900 and then went to London to visit my mother.[14]

The Chinese were very active along the river and controlled several large mining claims. The census of 1860 showed 533 Chinese in the area and in 1870 there were still 542.

Placer mining was never a very successful undertaking due to the heavy overburden and only close to the river could the miners show any profit. The old county records of Klamath County show considerable sheriff's sales for mining claims, both for bankruptcy and nonpayment of taxes. Those records show that approximately ninety per cent of the real estate transactions involved mining claims. As all mining claims were described as starting either from a tree or a rock or some person's land corner it is impossible to plot them on maps today. It was not until 1874 that the area was surveyed and the township and section lines were established.

Communication with the outside was chiefly by trail and those trails were a considerable expense to the county. The main trail to the Humboldt Bay region ran down the Klamath River to the junction of the Trinity, then up that river to Hoopa Valley and then westerly over the mountains to the bay. It was not until many years after the Orleans area became a part of Humboldt County that the people started to clamor for a wagon road. *The Blue Lake Advocate* stated in April, 1899, that Orleans is about the only important place in Humboldt County that is not accessible by a wagon road.[15]

All supplies for the Orleans area were transported by pack trains consisting of from 10 to 55 mules, who carried the freight. There are instances where a 55-mule train would carry 15,000 pounds of freight. One train, in particular, was owned and operated by Alexander Brizard, who had several trading posts on the Trinity, Klamath and Salmon rivers. Another important train was known as "Gilkey's Express," and, according to their advertisement placed in the *Northern Californian*,[16] it left Union, Humboldt Bay, semi-monthly immediately after the arrival of the mail steamer from San Francisco, running via Trinidad, Orleans Bar, Forks of Salmon to Sawyer's Bar on the North Fork of the Salmon River. The William Lord train, also being another that supplied the Orleans area, had an occasion to carry a wire cable weighing 2,380 pounds. This cable was woven back and forth along the pack saddles of twenty mules and delivered to Lent and Getrish who owned a mine at Butler Flat on the Salmon River.[17] Freight rates from Humboldt Bay or Trinidad were 0.04½ cents per pound. The operation of pack trains was not a profitable business as the cost and upkeep did not allow much margin of profit.

Costs of pack trains varied according to the age and condition of the mules and equipment, but in one instance, a pack train consisting of 69 mules, two horses and all packing gear was sold for $8,214 with $3,000 as the down payment. The balance was paid off without any interest by carrying freight for the seller at 0.04½ cents per pound. The assessment rolls of Klamath County show mules assessed at $80 per head, making their market value about $300 per head.[18]

It became apparent that Klamath County did not have a large enough tax base upon which to collect sufficient taxes to properly maintain the county and as early as 1869 a petition was sent to the state legislature, by the voters residing west of the Trinity River, that they be set off from Klamath County and annexed to Humboldt County.[19] Klamath County realized that such a move would only further weaken the county and that complete dissolution of the county was the only means to stop the increasing indebtedness. Consequently, a bill was introduced into the state legislature by Assemblyman Joseph Russ, at the request of numerous petitioners, asking that Klamath County be stricken from the map and its territory annexed to Humboldt and Siskiyou counties.[20] Therefore, on March 28, 1874, the state legislature approved an act to dissolve Klamath County and annex its territory to Humboldt and Siskiyou counties. On June 29, 1874, the Board of Supervisors of Klamath County received a statement from the Board of Supervisors of Siskiyou County of a vote polled on the 30th of May in regard to the annexation of a portion of the County of Klamath to Siskiyou.[21]

Commissioners had been appointed by both Humboldt and Siskiyou to close the affairs of Klamath County. James Beith, Jr., and Hudson B. Gillis were appointed for Siskiyou and Thomas Cutler and William P. Hanna for Humboldt County. These commissioners determined the indebtedness of the defunct county and pro-rated the debt to Humboldt and Siskiyou.

NOTES

1. California Historical Society *Quarterly*, p. 265, Vol. XXXIV, Sept. 1955.
2. Statutes of California, 1851, p. 180.
3. *Ibid.*, 1856, p. 32.
4. Humboldt *Times*, June 5, 1856.
5. Minutes, Board of Supervisors, Klamath County, Aug. 6, 1857. (All old Klamath Co. records are stored in the courthouse of Humboldt Co., Eureka, Calif.)
6. Humboldt County Records, Bk. S Deeds, p. 221.
7. Klamath County Records, Bk. B Deeds, p. 405.
8. Minutes, Bd. of Superv. Klamath Co., Nov. 8, 1871.
9. Klamath County Records, Bk. C Deeds, p. 147.
10. Minutes, Bd. of Superv. Klamath Co., May 6, 1867, p. 192.
11. *Ibid.*, Aug. 9, 1865, p. 121.
12. *The Northern Independent*, Eureka, Calif., July 21, 1870.
13. *Great Register*, Klamath County, 1869. (List of names of inhabitants of Klamath County printed in Orleans by Jencks & Aber.)
14. Statement by Pedro L. Young, n.d. (Probably written in 1940.)
15. Blue Lake *Advocate*, April 15, 1899.
16. *Northern Californian*, Dec. 29, 1858.
17. Blue Lake *Advocate*, Nov. 13, 1897.
18. Klamath County Assessment Roll, 1860, p. 57.
19. *The Northern Independent*, Dec. 23, 1869.
20. *Ibid.*, April 4, 1872.
21. Minutes, Bd. of Superv. Klamath Co., June 29, 1874.

News of the Society

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE DIRECTOR FOR 1959

Presented at the Awards Banquet and Annual Meeting,

Thursday, January 21, 1960, The Mansion

A CLOSE STUDY of the operation of the California Historical Society during 1959 should—and does—permit us to determine changes and assess progress at year's end. Such a study, moreover, affords us a basis on which to plan for the Society's reasonable development during 1960 and permits us to anticipate with some certainty the problems and needs of the future even more distant. The year 1959 showed the Society steadily growing in every sense, and the start of 1960 finds the California Historical Society a larger, busier, and at the same time a more flexible organization. New services were offered in the twelve months of 1959 and additional responsibilities assumed, while with few exceptions the customary services expected of the Society were performed well.

The most gratifying single achievement of the past year was the payment in full of the mortgage on our Mansion, accomplished entirely through the efforts and generosity of the Society's members. This beautifully preserved turn-of-the-century residence was acquired by the Society to serve as its headquarters in July, 1956. The purchase price was $75,000 and an additional $55,000 has been spent in making repairs and in remodeling.

The California Historical Society is exceedingly fortunate in its able and highly skilled staff, clearly one of its greatest assets. No staff turnover occurred in 1959. Completing their first full years after appointment were Mrs. Maude K. Swingle (Editorial Assistant) and Philip Watkins (Staff Assistant). Others on the professional staff were William W. Whitney (Public Information); Mrs. Jean Martin (Curator); Edwin H. Carpenter (Editor); Mrs. Geraldine Stern (Administrative Assistant); and James deT. Abajian (Librarian), assisted part-time by Miss Blanche Jantzen. Mr. and Mrs. George Hosokawa remained Custodians of the Society's Mansion. Administering the staff of the Society were Donald C. Biggs, the Director since February, 1958, and Mrs. Janet Womack (Assistant to the Director).

Understaffing in the Society's Library remained a constant problem, though in some measure reduced by the efforts of volunteers and by the part-time employment on September 1 of Miss Blanche Jantzen, formerly Manuscript Librarian of the Chicago Historical Society. However, the present staff of twelve contrasts remarkably with the staff of three reported in the December 1955 *Quarterly*.

Throughout 1959 the staff enjoyed the support and encouragement of the Board of Trustees and appreciated the time devoted to the Society's problems by the officers of the Board and by the Operating and Standing Committes of both Trustees and devoted members.

MEMBERSHIP

The Society accepted 440 new members during 1959, among whom 34 were new Student Members and 12 new Associate Members—California business institutions (now totaling 59) whose generous support through membership remains most gratifying. During 1959 there were 45 deaths of members and 133 resignations. Because of non-payment of dues 81 members were dropped. The net increase in membership was therefore 190 for a total membership in all categories of 2,685, eight per cent higher than at the end of 1958. (Membership at the end of 1955 was 1,537.) The Society's membership has thus been increased by forty-three per cent within the past four years.

Student Membership, first offered at reduced dues in May, 1959, as an educational service while the student should continue to be registered in a school or college, proved successful. At end of 1959 the Society had 34 student members.

The cooperation of dedicated Society members in individually interesting and enlisting prospective members was primarily responsible for this substantial increase, vital to the Society's functioning because of our dependence on dues income. The member who takes personal responsibility for broadening the base of our membership is irreplaceable; the entire Society is in his debt. (To my circular letter of October, 1959, inviting the help of the present membership in recruiting new members, I received many replies and the Society scores of new members. One of those replies may properly be included here in this Annual Report, as one of the high points in this year's correspondence. It read, in part: "Dear Mr. Biggs . . . I will do my best to obtain another member for the Society in London though whether I shall be successful or not is a matter of conjecture. However, one never knows!" The letter was signed by one of our faithful British members—the Viscount Furness.)

The Society's increased activity resulting in more extensive, more frequent, and more varied press coverage throughout California inevitably contributed to total growth in membership as did the exhibits, organization meetings, and entertainments at The Mansion, which attracted the non-member public.

Quite obviously, however, a membership of fewer than 3,000 is much too low for our active state-wide organization, particularly in the State of California, at once so populous (and growing ever more populous) and at the same time so history-conscious in a fashion and to an extent unknown in most of the United States. Interest in California's history is by no means limited to this loyal group of 2,685 members. It is inconceivable that the desire to participate in our state-wide activities and the willingness to support through membership our program of collection, preservation, and dissemination of that history must remain so limited.

INNOVATIONS

The Henry R. Wagner Memorial Award for outstanding achievement in historical scholarship was presented by the Society at the first annual Henry R. Wagner Memorial Award Dinner, September 28, 1959, at The Mansion. The

Award is to be made annually to the author of the work published within the preceding two calendar years in the field of California history, cartography, or bibliography, which the Awards Committee shall deem most worthy of recognition. Judges for the 1959 Award were George P. Hammond, Glenn S. Dumke, and Thomas W. Streeter. The Award was presented to Carl I. Wheat in recognition of the first two volumes of his distinguished work *Mapping the Trans-Mississippi West, 1540-1861,* which will run to five large folio volumes when completed. Mr. Wheat has been a member of the Society since 1924, has served as a member of the Board of Trustees and of the Publications Committee, and was Editor of the *Quarterly* from 1927 to 1932.

Henry R. Wagner, in whose honor the award is named, was one of the West's eminent historians, the author of *Spanish Voyages to the Northwest Coast of America* and *Cartography of the Northwest Coast of America.* He founded the *Quarterly* and was a key member of the group which revived and reorganized the Society in 1922. The Royal Geographical Society of London made Wagner a Fellow, and he was the recipient of honorary degrees from Yale University, Pomona College, and the University of California.

NEEDS OF THE SOCIETY

Additional space for the proper housing and display of the Society's growing collections, and the establishment of a regional headquarters in Los Angeles to serve the expanding Southern California membership are the two most pressing needs. Two projects were initiated in 1959 in answer to these needs. Preliminary studies were made for an annex for Society headquarters at 2090 Jackson Street in San Francisco, built on the site of the garden to the south of the existing structure, and investigation was begun of the possible use by the Society of "El Alisal," the picturesque Charles E. Lummis house in Los Angeles.

ATTENDANCE AT THE MANSION

Attendance by members and visitors to The Mansion in 1959 compared favorably with attendance in 1958 and in 1957, the first full year of the Society's operation at its headquarters at 2090 Jackson Street, San Francisco. The figures are as follows: 1957 — 3,565 1958 — 7,495 1959 — 9,851

PROGRAM

Attracting members and visitors to The Mansion and to the Society's functions elsewhere in California was a varied program of activities that included the following:

Exhibits: In the Society's Gallery during 1959 five major exhibits were presented, featuring California portraits, the first major display on the West Coast of the watercolors and oils of Alfred Jacob Miller, the landscapes of Gottardo Piazzoni, a selection of California theatrical material from the Society's extensive holdings, and the Harry T. Peters Collection of California Prints. Major loan exhibits from the Society's collection were presented at the Serra Museum in San Diego, and at the La Jolla Art Center.

Members' Meetings: The Society's first Annual Meeting in its permanent headquarters was held on January 15, 1959, when five Fellowships and ten Awards of Merit were presented. At that meeting Dr. C. Easton Rothwell spoke on "The Rôle of the Learned Society Today." During the year members were privileged to hear talks on various aspects of Western American history by numerous authorities, among them Mrs. Clyde Porter, Col. Fred B. Rogers, Dr. Frank L. Fenton, Robert H. Power, David F. Myrick, and Gerald MacMullen. In September, 1959, for the first time, the Society's Henry R. Wagner Memorial Award was presented, with Carl I. Wheat the recipient of the Wagner medal. At that event, speakers were Dr. George P. Hammond and Dr. Charles L. Camp.

Chamber Music Concerts: Three such concerts were presented during 1959 and attracted large audiences.

Receptions: The Society's Annual Open House on February 12 was attended by 1,100 members and guests. Continuing its program of cooperation with local and county historical societies, the California Historical Society received nine such groups at Sunday-afternoon receptions during 1959—the Sacramento County Historical Society, the California Pioneers of Santa Clara County, the Calaveras County Historical Society, the Amador County Historical Society, the El Dorado County Historical Society, the Tuolomne County Historical Society, and the historical societies of Palo Alto, Mountain View, and Sunnyvale.

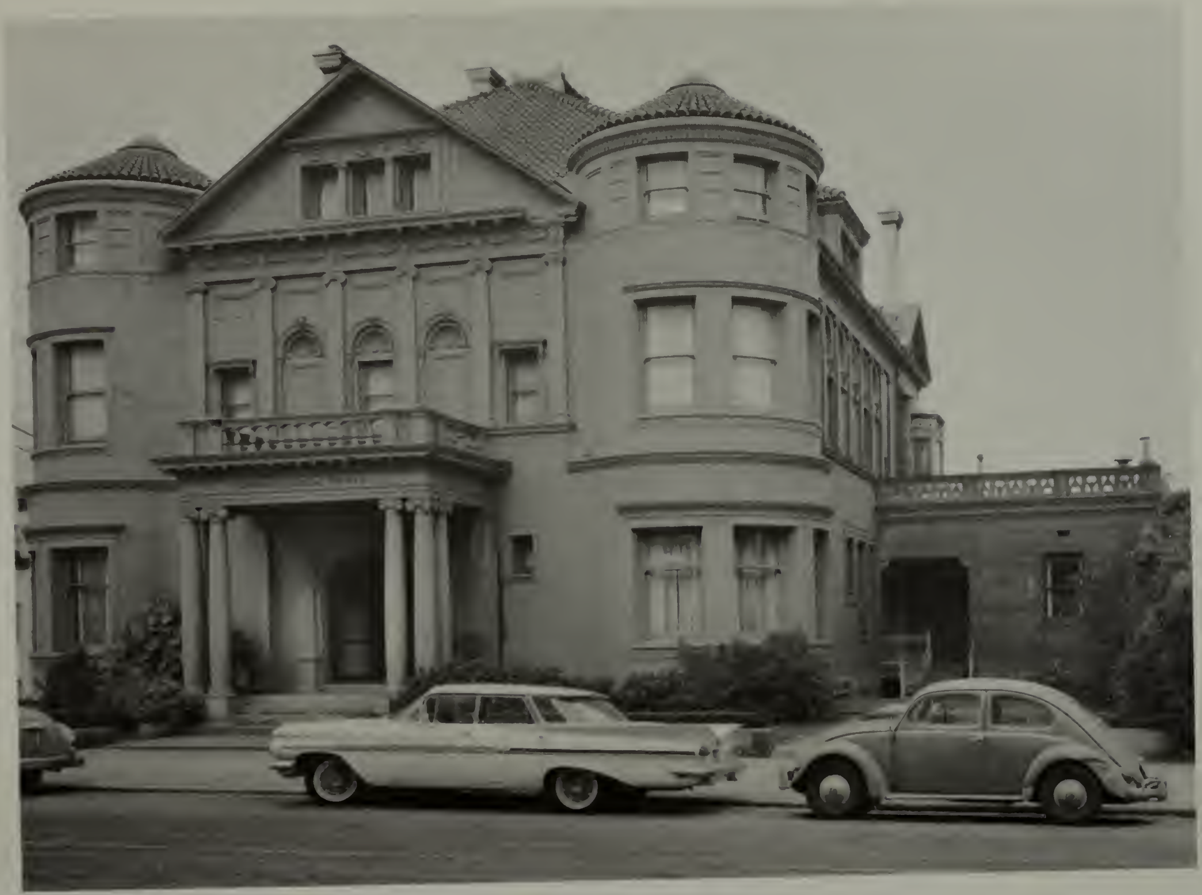
Book and Print Auctions: Auctions of duplicates and out-of-field material from the Society's library and exhibit departments were held in March and October, with the proceeds benefiting the purchase fund of those departments.

Regional Meetings: Coincidentally with the publication by the Society of *Los Angeles From the Days of the Pueblo,* a regional meeting and luncheon was held in Los Angeles in June, 1959. In November, the second of the Society's popular *Romerías* was held in Santa Barbara, with many members touring San Simeon the same week-end.

ACQUISITIONS

The Society's holdings in its library and exhibit departments were substantially increased during 1959. Friends of the Society showed continued generosity, many making material gifts to the Society's collections and funds.

Library: Many purchases were made and gifts received by the Library during 1959, a year particularly marked by the receipt of volumes and files of early newspapers from different parts of California, including a previously unknown volume of the *Red Bluff Beacon* of 1853. There were also several gifts of major photograph collections. Among new holdings in the papers of organizations and individuals, notable are those of Dr. Elias Cooper (gift of Ludwig A. Emge, M.D.), business records of the firm of John and George McNear (gift of Mrs. Leo V. Korbel), the archives of the state organization of the League of Women Voters of California (for the years 1921-1950), and the archives of the Lincoln Grammar



A recent photograph of *The Mansion* by James B. MacBride.
This beautifully preserved turn-of-the-century residence was acquired by CHS
in 1956 and paid for in full in 1959.

School Association. From Miss Catherine Kirkham Wheeler of San Francisco the Society received the Library of General Ralph W. Kirkham of Oakland. Particularly to be remarked is the permanent loan from the De Young Museum of a tremendous collection of Californiana—some 15,000 items, including ephemera, pictorial material, papers of pioneers, and newspapers, most of them rare and unobtainable.

Exhibit Department: Particularly notable were the gifts of the Harry T. Peters Collection of California lithographs and lettersheets (from the Peters family), two paintings of the Cliff House and China Beach (from Mr. and Mrs. Joseph L. Alioto), a watercolor of the ship *Oakland* (from Mrs. Ellsworth R. Stewart), a Grace Hudson painting (from Mrs. Irving T. Snyder), and the shroud of Col. E. D. Baker (from the Sons of the Union Veterans of the Civil War, Col. E. D. Baker Camp, No. 21).

For The Mansion came the gift, from Miss Elizabeth Madison Braley of Pasadena, of the Braly family furniture and from Mr. George Gillson of San Francisco, the gift of a sterling tea set made from silver of the Cerro Gordo Mine.

SPEECHES AND SPEAKERS

MAJOR ADDRESSES were delivered by President George L. Harding on the occasion of the annual meeting of the Bibliographical Society of America at the Grolier Club, New York City, and at the dedication of the Cheney Cowles Memorial Museum, Eastern Washington State Historical Society, Spokane. He was also honored by an invitation to deliver the Coulter lecture at the University of California Alumni Association dinner in Sacramento. In addition to these appearances President Harding spoke to numerous historical societies and related organizations throughout the state.

My own speaking schedule was unusually heavy during the past year. I spoke to eight service clubs, including Rotary Clubs in Fresno and Hayward; three women's clubs; five fraternal and patriotic organizations, including a talk at the Discovery of Gold Banquet of the Native Sons and Native Daughters of the Golden West; four county and local historical societies, and five miscellaneous organizations. I also made major addresses at the Art Center in La Jolla; the Conference of California Historical Societies at San Mateo; the Pacific Northwest Historical Association at Portland; and the Rare Book Section of the American Library Association at Charlottesville, Virginia.

Mention should also be made of our Speakers Bureau, which successfully assigned members, who generously donated their talents and time, for speaking engagements throughout California. Twenty-seven such assignments were filled by members through this bureau in 1959.

THE TWO BOOKS PUBLISHED by the Society were *Los Angeles from the Days of the Pueblo,* by W. W. Robinson, and our Christmas book, *Christmas in the Gold Fields, 1849,* by Joseph J. McCloskey and Hermann J. Sharmann, illustrated by lettersheets from the Society's collection.

PUBLICATIONS

The *Quarterly* achieved a wider range and balance among its articles and the popular Book Review section was reinstated. For the first time in its history, advertising, rigidly controlled to conform to *Quarterly* standards, was carried to help defray rising publication costs. Work on the index to the first 38 volumes of the *Quarterly* progressed and will definitely see completion in 1960.

Coverage of the State's historical activities in the monthly *Notes* was more comprehensive. Local History News, a column giving information regarding County Historical Societies, became a regular feature of the *Notes*, as did the Members Honored column devoted to CHS members who had won awards or been otherwise honored during the preceding month. In October of 1959 the Book and Print Auction Catalogue was incorporated in the monthly *Notes*.

A Keepsake was issued during the year: a reproduction of an 1857 lithographic view of Los Angeles drawn by Kuchel and Dresel and printed by Britton and Rey, famous collaborators in the history of print making. This was sent to every member in May.

CONCLUSION

This review of the activities of the Society during 1959 substantiates the proposition that the Society is moving on to still greater growth and increased effectiveness to our members and to all the people of California. Effective new ways must be devised to reach the many Californians—those of many generations' residence, those of more recent residence, and the daily newcomers—all whose interest in their regional heritage or whose curiosity and need to know make them likely candidates for membership in the Society. A membership of 5,000 by the end of 1963 does not seem an unrealistic goal.

REPORT OF THE TREASURER

THE ACCOUNTS OF THE SOCIETY for the year 1959 have been audited, as has been the practice for many years, by Messrs. Farquhar and Heimbucher, Certified Public Accountants. Their full report is on file in the office of the Director of the Society. The following is a summary of their report.

[Signed] BRANTLEY M. EUBANKS, *Treasurer*

CALIFORNIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

BALANCE SHEET

At December 31, 1959

Assets		
Cash — Commercial Account	$ 5,219.62	
Savings Account	1,429.97	
Office Revolving Fund	100.00	$ 6,749.59
Accounts Receivable — General Fund	$ 240.58	
Publication Fund	784.63	
Library Fund	28.08	1,053.29
Contributions Pledged		1,665.00
Prepaid Expenses		290.23
Inventories		17,517.99
Headquarters, 2090 Jackson Street, San Francisco		75,140.21
California Historical Society Trust Assets		98,796.11
Total Assets		$201,212.42
Liabilities		
Accounts Payable		$ 5,097.10
Sales Tax		103.97
Prepaid Dues		830.00
Total Liabilities		$ 6,031.07
Funds		
General Fund	$66,534.29	
Publication Fund	16,463.93	
Library Fund	4,741.89	
Exhibit Fund	1,312.61	
California Historical Society Trust	98,796.11	
Agency Funds	7,332.52	
Net Assets		195,181.35

GENERAL FUND INCOME STATEMENT

For the year ended December 31, 1959

Income		
Dues—Active and Student Members	$31,476.51	
Sustaining Members	9,195.00	
Patron Members	5,900.00	
Associate Members	6,000.00	$ 52,571.51
Contributions—General Fund	$ 7,981.72	
Special purposes	1,841.40	
Capital purposes	13,000	22,823.12
"Quarterly" Advertising Revenue		2,115.93
Sales of "Quarterly"		526.00
Sales of Prints		1,189.72
Interest Income		271.03
Endowment Income		241.03
Miscellaneous Income		935.25
Total Income		$80,673.59
Expenses		
Administrative Department	$12,757.48	
Business Department	14,304.08	
House Operation	4,992.68	
Public Relations Department	2,561.83	
Editorial Department	21,427.26	
Library Department	5,336.88	
Exhibit Department	4,374.89	$65,755.10
Special Purposes		1,801.85
Cost of Print Sales		826.66
Capital Expenditures		1,517.92
Miscellaneous Expenses		125.00
Total Expenses		$70,026.53
Excess of Income Over Expenses [Note]		$10,647.06
Fund Balance at Beginning of Yecar		55,887.23
Fund Balance at End of Year		$66,534.29

NOTE: Although total General Fund income exceeded expenses in the amount of $10,647.06, it should be noted that income includes restricted capital contributions in the amount of $11,482.08 in excess of current capital expenditures. Without the generous contributions of members at the end of the year this favorable result would not have been obtained.

Publication Fund Income Statement

For the year ended December 31, 1959

Sales of Publications		$13,387.42
Less – Cost of Sales		
Beginning Inventory	$11,008.32	
Purchases	14,003.25	
	$25,011.57	
Less – Ending Inventory	17,118.18	7,893.39
Gross Profit From Sales		$ 5,494.03
Expenses		
Selling	$ 1,975.34	
Royalties	2,126.25	
Editorial	482.93	
Shipping	104.11	4,688.63
Net Gain to Fund		$ 805.40
Fund Balance at Beginning of Year		15,658.53
Fund Balance at End of Year		$16,463.93

Library Fund Income Statement

For the year ended December 31, 1959

Income – Sales of Duplicate Materials	$ 2,435.25
Contributions	2,006.00
Total	$ 4,441.25
Less – Purchases of Library Materials	2,920.20
Net Gain to Fund	$ 1,521.05
Fund Balance at Beginning of Year	3,220.84
Fund Balance at End of Year	$ 4,741.89

Exhibit Fund Income Statement

For the year ended December 31, 1959

Income – Sales of Duplicate Materials	$ 313.01
Contributions	58.00
Total	$ 371.01
Less – Purchases	1,031.16
Net Loss to Fund	$ 660.15
Fund Balance at Beginning of Year	1,972.76
Fund Balance at End of Year	$ 1,312.61

PRESENTATION OF AWARDS

President Harding explained criteria for the selection of candidates for Fellowships and Awards of Merit as recommended by the Committee on Awards for Distinguished Service (James D. Hart, Chairman) and approved by the Society's Board of Trustees. The names of those receiving awards, together with their accompanying citations, are given below:

Fellows

Oscar Joseph Lewis—This certificate is presented to Oscar Joseph Lewis as Fellow of the California Historical Society by the Board of Trustees. Mr. Lewis, a native son of San Francisco and one of the West's most widely known authors, is currently engaged in the preparation of his 26th volume, entitled *California's Part in the Civil War.* Among his best known works are *The Big Four; California Heritage; Silver Kings; I Remember Christine; Sea Routes to the Gold Fields;* and the Society's own publication, *Fabulous San Simeon.* Two of these titles merited the Commonwealth Club's gold medal. In addition to his tremendous literary output, it is characteristic of Mr. Lewis that he has found time also to act as guiding mentor of the Book Club of California for more than 25 years, as a member of this Society, where he presently serves on the Editorial Advisory Committee, for 20 years, and as an interested participant in many other community service organizations.

George Rippey Stewart—This certificate is presented to George Rippey Stewart as Fellow of the California Historical Society by its Board of Trustees. Dr. Stewart has combined distinguished literary and teaching careers at the University of California, Berkeley, since 1924. His ability to write equally well in the fields of history and fiction is evidenced by his publication of three best selling novels, *Storm, Fire,* and *Earth Abides,* which have been translated into seven languages in addition to various Indian and Pakistani dialects. Dr. Stewart's stature as a historian is based on his *Ordeal by Hunger,* the story of the Donner Party; *The Opening of the California Trail, Names on the Land, East of the Giants,* and *Pickett's Charge.* For these he has received two Commonwealth Club medals. Currently, Dr. Stewart is author of *Donner Pass,* scheduled for January publication by the California Historical Society.

Franklin Dickerson Walker—This certificate is presented to Franklin Dickerson Walker as Fellow of the California Historical Society by the Board of Trustees. A graduate of the University of California and of Oxford University, Dr. Walker, a renowned authority on the literary history of the West, is the Aurelia Henry Reinhardt Professor of American Literature at Mills College, where he has been a faculty member since 1946. His works, *San Francisco's Literary Frontier* and *A Literary History of Southern California* are the standard titles in this area of scholarship. The former was awarded a Commonwealth Club gold medal, and the latter was followed by international recognition, the invitation to serve as visiting lecturer at the University of Upsala, 1949-50. Dr. Walker's current work, a biography of Jack London, receives the support of a Rockefeller grant, and logically follows his earlier works on Frank Norris, Mark Twain, Prentice Mulford, and Ambrose Bierce.

Awards of Merit

Ruth Frey Axe—To Ruth Frey Axe the California Historical Society presents this Award of Merit in recognition of her contribution to California history through translations of German sources and of her long service to Henry R. Wagner. As his "right hand" she had a large part in Dr. Wagner's scholarly output and thereby influenced many young scholars.

Dorothea Harriet Huggins—To Dorothea Harriet Huggins, careful and wise administrator of this Society from its reorganization in 1922 until 1944, and editor of countless learned articles and volumes during almost four decades of scholarship dedicated to Society publications and to the University of California Press, the California Historical Society presents this Award of Merit to a native daughter of Berkeley.

W. W. Robinson—To the Dean of California local history writers, W. W. Robinson, this Award of Merit is presented by the California Historical Society, to acclaim his long series of accurate and readable monographs on ranchos, counties, and communities of southern California, and his books on various aspects of California life and history, in which he stimulated interest in the pictorial records of the past.

The Book Club of California—To the Book Club of California the Society presents this Award of Merit for activities which during forty-eight years have fulfiilled its constitutional purpose to assist "The Study of Letters and the Promotion of the Arts pertaining to the Production of Books." It has continued a program of publishing typographically distinguished and textually important works of local history and literature, begun with its first book, Cowan's *Bibliography of the History of California and the West.*

The Grabhorn Press—To the Grabhorn Press the California Historical Society presents this Award of Merit for forty years as printers in California, recognized throughout the world for outstanding typography and design, whose handsome letterpress and whose pictorial reproductions, both accurate and beautiful, often present documents of Western history in elegant yet suitable editions.

Los Angeles Corral of the Westerners—The California Historical Society presents this Award of Merit to the Los Angeles Corral of the Westerners because of its long and consistent program of publishing the talks delivered before it and other papers covering all phases of the history and culture of California and the West, some based on research and others on first-hand participation.

Siskiyou County Historical Society — This Award of Merit is presented to the Siskiyou County Historical Society for its success in awakening remarkably wide interest in regional history through its museum, which attracts over ten thousand visitors annually, and for its ambitious annual publication of *The Pioneer*, a yearbook outstanding among all those published by County Societies in the United States. Both these major enterprises are supported by a membership of over a thousand, by virtue of which number the Siskiyou County Historical Society ranks as largest of California's County Historical Societies.

Fellows named at the Awards Banquet and Annual Meeting, January 21, 1960.
Left to right:
Oscar Joseph Lewis, George Rippey Stewart, and Franklin Dickerson Walker.

Book of Remembrance

Established in 1945

On view in the Society's library is a finely bound "Book of Remembrance," recording the names of persons in whose memory contributions have been made to the Library Fund. Below are names that have been inscribed for 1959 and 1960.

1959

Frank N. Belgrano
Pierre Alexander Bergerot
Anson Stiles Blake
Richard O. Bliss
Charles R. Blyth
Leon Bocqueraz
Henry Hanna Brigham
Marcus Brower
Jesse Washington Carter
Henria P. Compton
Oscar Cooper
R. Tracy Crawford
Leland Cutler
Elie Dalmon
Fay Lanphier Daniels
Leroy Harris Dart
Charles Davis
David Clarence Demarest
Leslie Van Ness Denman
John Marshall Evans
Maude McKay Evans
Paul Scott Foster
John Debo Galloway
J. Duncan Gleason
Signe Berg Harding
Daisy Howard
Lorna Hunt
Charles Sexton James
Marie Louis Clayburgh Kahn
Haidee Grau Keesling
W. D. Kleinpell
Charles F. Lambert
Clarence F. Laumeister
Mary Josephine Lauppe
Ivy Lee, III
Lawrence Lovett
Angus McDonald
Edward Laird Mills
Tulita Wilcox Miner
Eugenie S. Neppert
Mrs. Richard Newhall
Phil O'Connell
Martha Hutchinson Ransome
Edward Gunther Schmiedell
Ethel R. Shorb
Harold M. Smith
Mary Swain Stabler
Alice Clay Stephenson
Harley C. Stevens
Anna Louise Green Turner
Emma Avaline Turner
Gustavus James Turner
Gustavus Samuel Turner
Caroline Wenzel
Katherine Emily Winn
William Watkin Winn

1960

Guy J. Giffen
Jesse Hardy
James Jenkins
Genevieve S. Manchester
Ada Harvey Martin
William H. Noe

In Memoriam

PIERRE ALEXANDER BERGEROT

PIERRE ALEXANDER BERGEROT died in San Francisco November 15, 1959, at the age of ninety-two years following a short and rapid decline in health. He was born in San Francisco on February 4, 1867, in the vicinity of what is now 16th and Potrero Avenue. His fourscore and twelve years had been replete with good health and activity. He had been in the practice of his profession until shortly before his demise.

Bergerot's father, Jean A. Bergerot, had come to San Francisco in the early fifties via the perilous route 'round the Horn on a French sailing vessel on a voyage which took seven months. It was the custom to allot a bottle of wine for each meal to every passenger and young Bergerot sold his quota to his fellow-trevelers and landed in San Francisco, at the age of twelve, with a small capital in his pockets. In the late fifties he established a truck garden, of about ten acres, near the site of the present Lick-Wilmerding High School. He started a produce business in the sixties; later he founded a general insurance business. Subsequently he was one of the founders of the old French-American Bank, which exists today as a branch of the Bank of America, and became a vice-president of that institution. He died at the age of eighty-eight.

P. A. Bergerot attended Lincoln Grammar School and Boys' High School which later became Lowell. Upon graduation he went to France and attended the University of Bordeaux where he received a degree in law. Upon his return to San Francisco he graduated from Hastings College of Law and entered the private practice of law. At the time of his passing he was probably the oldest practicing attorney in California.

P. A. Bergerot was elected President of the Board of Education in 1897 and at one time a grammar school was named after him. He became active in civic and political affairs and in 1909 was a candidate for Supervisor on the Republican ticket, sponsored by William W. Crocker. The ticket was headed by attorney Daniel Ryan for Mayor. As a practicing attorney he was instrumental in the formation of the old French-American Bank and, in recent years, the Bank of Indo-China. He was a leading figure in the many activities of the French Colony of San Francisco and played an important part in the affairs of most of its institutions and organizations. He was affectionately considered by that group as its Dean, a position which he rightfully occupied by virtue of the many decades that he had been active in its behalf. Bergerot was Past President and Honorary President of the French Hospital. He had held the same positions in the Cercle de l'Union (French Club) which he had helped to organize together with the late Leon Bocqueraz and Joseph Meyerstein. Until a few weeks prior to his passing he was a familiar figure each noon-time at the head of that Club's traditional table. In 1915 he incorporated the Lafayette Club of San Francisco which is the political organization of the French Colony and considered one of the city's

Aubrey Drury

strongest organizations of its kind. He was a life member of the Press and Union League Club. His other affiliations included membership in the State Bar Association, the San Francisco Bar Association and the California Historical Society.

The Hastings College of Law honored Bergerot with the Order of the Coif, a most distinctive legal honor. For his efforts on behalf of the French Colony and for his endeavors towards bettering Franco-American relations, he was made an Officer of the Legion of Honor; for similar reasons regarding Belgian interests he was made Officer of the Order of Leopold.

In 1898 he was married to Amanda Dupuy who died in 1950 at the age of seventy-five. He is survived by two children, Edmond P. Bergerot and Lucile B. TeRoller, two grandchildren and five great-grandchildren.

Pierre Alexander Bergerot's epitaph may well have been the following verse which he wrote and loved to recite in his later days when called upon to speak:

"I count my blessings every day,
Every night I kneel down to pray
And implore my godfather, St. Peter above,
To grant you, one and all, with my love
All the treasures of a well-spent life
To lighten your cares in this world's strife.
I count my blessings every day,
May yours be like mine in every way."

RAOUL H. BLANQUIE

AUBREY DRURY

BY THE DEATH OF Aubrey Drury in Berkeley on October 23, 1959, at the age of sixty-eight years, California lost one of its outstanding conservationists, who devoted his adult life to first seeing his native state and then making known, and helping to preserve for future generations, many of its finest areas of natural beauty.

Aubrey was born in Sacramento June 10, 1891. Both branches of his family came from England in pre-revolutionary times to Pennsylvania and Rhode Island. His forebears went westward by way of Kentucky and on his parental side were related to the family of Daniel Boone. Inheriting this pioneer blood, Aubrey's parents, natives of Illinois, were taken to the far West in their infancy. His father, Wells Drury, traveled across the plains in a covered wagon on the Oregon Trail in 1852, his mother, Ella Bishop, in a stage coach, at the age of three months, in 1863. Wells Drury led an adventurous life in journalism, first in Virginia City as recorded in his book, "An Editor on the Comstock Lode," and later as editor of newspapers in San Francisco, Los Angeles and Sacramento.

Aubrey very evidently inherited his father's talents as a writer. He graduated from the University of California in 1914, taking a post graduate course in languages and literature during the following year thereby receiving an A.B.

degree. Throughout his life he was prolific in the large amount of writing he produced on subjects related to his many activities, as well as in books such as his "California: An Intimate Guide."

During World War I he served as a commissioned officer in the Army Air Corps. Returning to his personal affairs, his life interest became intensely devoted to many activities, attested to by the following partial record, which may account for the fact that he was a bachelor.

After leaving the army he became a partner in the Drury Company (public relations) and since 1920 was a member of the Save-the-Redwoods League, becoming its Executive Secretary in 1940 by succeeding his brother Newton B. Drury who had served that organization so well from its beginning and who was then appointed Director of the National Park Service. He became a member of the California Historical Society in 1923 and a director since 1937. His successful efforts to hold and increase memberships during the difficult period of World War II, after he became Secretary in 1942, sustained both the prestige and the finances of the Society. During the years 1949-51 he served as President.

Other organizations of which Aubrey was a member were:

Sierra Club, since 1923; Conservation Council, President 1951-52; National Audubon Society, director 1946-47 and 1955-57; National Park Association; American Forestry Association; California Statewide Committee on Higher Education; California Historical Landmarks Committee, chairman since 1952; Pan American Society; World Trade Club of San Francisco; California Alumni Association; California Folklore Society; California Academy of Sciences; American Legion; Isaac Walton League; Santa Clara Historical Society; Santa Barbara Historical Society; Institute of American Genealogy; Friends of the Bancroft Library; Contra Costa Hills Club; San Francisco Advertising Club.

He edited many pamphlets with photographs for the Save-the-Redwoods League to arouse its members and others, nationwide, to the need for donations to the League's fund to "Save-the-Redwoods." He was co-author of "The Pacific Coast Ranges," 1946, and "Point Lobos Reserve," 1954, and contributed to "Motorland" and other magazines and newspapers on California and western travel.

On December 11, 1959, the California State Park Commission, at its meeting in Santa Barbara, voted the following Resolution:

"Whereas, it was with the deepest regret the members of the State Park Commission learned of the death of Mr. Aubrey Drury, the Executive Secretary since 1940 of the Save-the-Redwoods League; and,

Whereas, it was largely through the efforts of Mr. Aubrey Drury that the Save-the-Redwoods League has contributed in excess of five million dollars in the past fourteen years for the preservation of the redwoods of California so the magnificent trees remain for the enjoyment of the people of the State and Nation; and, Whereas, beyond the loss of a great conservationist, the Commission feels the passing of a good and close friend;

Now, THEREFORE, the State Park Commission instructs its Secretary to express to the family of Mr. Aubrey Drury its fullest sympathy and that a copy of this resolution accompany the communication."

Because the State of California matches the amounts contributed by the Save-the-Redwoods League, the contributions of over five million dollars mentioned in the above resolution meant that about eleven million dollars were made available to buy redwood forest lands which became State Redwood Parks. Their value today is many times that amount and their future value could not be measured in dollars.

On January 20, 1960, at the annual meeting of the American Scenic and Historical Preservation Society in New York, the Horace M. Albright Medal was awarded to Aubrey Drury for outstanding contributions to the cause of scenic and historic conservation. The medal with the text of the award was presented to the Drury family.

California and the Nation have lost a dedicated conservationist of rare talents, whose accomplishments will live and be enjoyed by all future generations, and the many who knew him have lost a true friend.

WALTER A. STARR

MILTON D. EISNER

WITH THE DEATH OF Milton D. Eisner on Sunday, December 27, 1959, an end came to a life which was characterized by kindness and consideration for all those with whom he came in contact, and an abiding concern for the welfare of the under-privileged and the sick, particularly those whose ailments required long periods of hospitalization.

He was born in San Francisco on July 15, 1886. His father, Milton S. Eisner, a prominent San Francisco attorney, his mother Lena Reinstein Eisner, a member of a prominent San Francisco family, and her brother J. B. Reinstein, having served as Regents of the University of California at the turn of the century. Both of his parents were native Californians. He obtained his primary education in the San Francisco schools, graduating from Lowell High School in 1905. He was a student at the University of California during a part of 1905 and 1906. Like many others of the period following the fire and earthquake, he left the university to find employment. He married Belle Bluckman, a schoolmate, on September 11, 1910, and they lived together in great happiness for nearly 50 years. Out of this union came three children, Robert H. Eisner, Helen Eisner Rice and Willard B. Eisner.

At an early age, Mr. Eisner entered the real estate business, and it gives me great satisfaction to remember that he was associated with my firm almost continuously for over 50 years. His business activity also included long service with the Citizens, now Citizens Federal Savings & Loan Association. He became a director of that organization in 1921 and was its president from 1932 to 1953, at which latter date he became chairman of the board of directors, a position he occupied at the time of his death. During his incumbency the Association prospered greatly, having had assets at the time he became president of less than $2,000,000—while today its assets are in excess of $75,000,000.

Notwithstanding his absorption in business activities, Milton Eisner very early gave evidence of a determination to devote much time to helping others, and also took great interest in the accumulation of documents relating to the early history of the West, particularly California. He also became interested in the Boy Scouts and for 35 years his enthusiasm and wise counsel, as he served that organization in many capacities, contributed greatly to the advancement of scouting in this area. In recognition of his services he was made a member of its Court of Honor.

Over 20 years ago, while a patient in Children's Hospital, he conceived the idea that he could bring some happiness to the crippled children in its "Little Jim Ward" by interesting them in stamp collecting. At that time he was a leading member of the San Francisco Pacific Philatelic Society and he was thereby enabled to secure the assistance of the members of this group in that activity. When it was well established, the responsibility for its continuance was assumed by others and Mr. Eisner then undertook to establish a similar activity at Letterman Hospital. Here a postage stamp club was formed, and in the years that followed Mr. Eisner became known to the patients in Letterman as "Mr. Stampman." The following is a tribute paid to him by one long associated with him in this work:

"Very little in Mr. Eisner's life was allowed to interfere with his work in the Letterman Hospital wards on the appointed nights; and a great part of his leisure was spent in obtaining, washing, and sorting the many thousands of stamps needed for this project. This service was one of his greatest pleasures; at times an entire ward would catch the philatelic fever—men awaiting surgery, others in awkward body casts or wheelchairs—Mr. Eisner's arrival with the Stamp Club Cart always brought a renewed interest in life. And although Mr. Eisner had enrolled many volunteers to help in this work, it was his personal interest and warmth that was wanted. 'Can Mr. Eisner look at my book?' 'Hasn't Mr. Stampman time for me tonight?' Milton Eisner will be missed by many and in many fields; nowhere more than at the Letterman Hospital Postage Stamp Club."

Mr. Eisner was an enthusiastic member of the California Historical Society for 25 years. He was a collector of early western letters and documents. He built up a large collection of this type of material, and received nation-wide recognition for his fine exhibits. These he acquired by diligent research in "every nook and cranny of pioneer towns and mining camps." He was a keen student of early California lore, sharing his findings with those having similar interests. Of him, the Director of the History Room of Wells Fargo has this to say:

"Milton Eisner has always been one of Wells Fargo's good friends—especially a good friend of its History Room. This interest and friendship goes back to the very beginning of our collection in the early 1930's, and continued until after he was in the hospital, December 1959. Our records show that in 1937 he presented a rare cover with a Wells Fargo & Co. cancellation of Chinese Camp, which has been continually displayed, and over the succeeding years through loan, purchase and gift Mr. Eisner was able to make any number of interesting and pertinent display and study material available to us. I think this interest in our collection was probably very typical of his interest in collections of others. It was my great privilege at one time to peruse some of the material which he had been collecting, for his own enjoyment. For many years both Mr. Eisner and I had been working in an effort to date more accurately a list in his collection of Wells Fargo & Co. offices which we believed to have been compiled during the 1860's; this job, and others, we will have to continue without his encouragement and help."

Successful living may be measured by many standards, and by many of these Milton Eisner's life was replete with success. He was a devoted husband and father who at all times contributed greatly to the happiness of his family; a quiet but effective worker in the fields of public service; a recognized authority in his chosen field for historical research; many people were made happier because he passed their way; and at all times his business activities were conducted on such a high plane he earned and retained the confidence and respect of all those with whom he came in contact.

COLBERT COLDWELL

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The CHS Olympic Luncheon which followed ceremonies dedicating a plaque in Squaw Valley February 14, 1960, commemorating a century of sport skiing in America. *Left to right:* Dr. V. Aubrey Neasham, Historian, Division of Beaches and Parks, State of California; Dr. Clement M. Silvestro, Director, American Association for State and Local History, Madison, Wisconsin; Hon. Joseph R. Knowland, Chairman of CHS Board of Trustees; Donald C. Biggs, Director; Francis P. Farquhar, President; and Robert H. Power, author of *Pioneer Skiing in California.*

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Clifford H. Bissell is Associate Professor of French, Emeritus, University of California. He studied at the Collège de Juilly, France, and the Vitzthumsches Gymnasium, Dresden, Germany, and holds a B.A. degree from Yale University, an LL.B. from Columbia University, an M.A. from Princeton and Ph.D. from the University of California. He was a member of the French faculty at the University of California from 1920 until his retirement in 1954. He served in the American Ambulance and American Red Cross in France in World War I and the French Government has made him an *Officier d'Académie*, and *Officier de l'Instruction Publique* (now known as *Officier des Palmes Académique)*. He is the author of *Les Conventions du Théâtre Bourgeois en France, 1887-1914;* and with

William van Wyck translated into English rhymed verse Edmond Rostrand's *Cyrano de Bergerac* and *Chantecler*.

Howard B. Melendy was born in Eureka, California, in 1896 and has resided in that city most of his life. He was educated in the schools of Eureka. In 1917 he started working in the engineering department of the State Division of Highways and in 1945 became Chief Deputy Assessor of Humboldt County; while in the courthouse of that county he became familiar with the historical records filed therein. In 1952 he became Deputy City Assessor for the City of Eureka and in 1956 was elected City Assessor of Eureka, which position he now holds.

Franklin Hichborn was born in Eureka in 1868. Some of his articles, descriptive of the conditions he encountered, published in Washington Territory papers, came to the attention of A. R. Coleman, a leader of the territorial bar. Coleman induced him to enter his law office as clerk and law student. After two years study, he passed the then territorial bar examination. He specialized in State Tax Structures and Legislative Procedure and covered the California Legislature during the terms of eleven governors, Markham to Olson inclusive.

Dr. W. Turrentine Jackson, Professor of History and Chairman of the Department of History and Political Science, University of California, Davis, received his B.A. from Texas Western College in 1935 and his M.A. and Ph.D. from the University of Texas in 1936 and 1940. He has served on the faculties of the University of California, Los Angeles, University of Chicago, University of Glasgow and Iowa State University, and has had summer session appointments at the Universities of Michigan, Minnesota, Montana, Southern California, Texas and Wyoming. In 1949-50 he held a Fulbright Fellowship to the United Kingdom; in 1953 a Rockefeller Foundation-Huntington Library Fellowship, and has had Grants-in-Aid from the American Philosophical Society, Social Science Research Council, American History Research Center, Range Cattle Industry Study, and has also been a Guggenheim Fellow, 1957-58.

Dr. Jackson is the author of many articles in different learned society publications and is the author of *Wagon Roads West*, 1951, and co-author of *When Grass Was King*, 1956. *Wagon Roads West* received the American History Award from the Pacific Coast Branch of American Historical Association, for the best book on United States History in 1952 written by a young western scholar; it was also listed by the American Institute of Graphic Arts as one of the "Fifty Books of the Year," 1952; and one of the "Ten Best Books on Western America" in 1952 by The Westerners of Chicago, and was selected for a special exhibit sent to Moscow by the United States Information Agency.

New Books

Army Exploration in the American West, 1803-1863. By William H. Goetzmann. (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. 1959. xx, 509 pp. $6.50.)

Here is a good and necessary book, one that has waited much too long to be written, a book, moreover, that introduces a genuine new talent in the writing of history, displaying style, narrative sweep, power of generalization, and an astonishingly rich background. It is too bad that I should have to add that it is also mis-titled and overly pretentious, as well as marred to a degree by what seems to be simple carelessness. These faults need not have flawed what must otherwise have been regarded as one of the outstanding recent contributions to American history.

The subject of the book is the activity of the U. S. Topographical Engineers in the West from Frémont's first expedition of 1842 to the merging of the Corps with the Army Engineers during the Civil War. The topic is a large one, presenting so many difficulties that no one has really addressed himself to it before, though various books have touched upon the work of individual officers. But of course the labor of the Topographical Engineers was only a part of the noted Army involvement in the exploration of the West; a good many line officers served the Nation well in this respect. Let no one be misled by the title into thinking that Dr. Goetzmann has in any way attempted to develop this larger theme, or that his book truly reflects total Army activity in the West.

What he has mainly done, in fact, is to have written an account of the Corps based on the published annual reports of the War Department and the separately published reports of individual officers—Raynolds, for instance, or the younger Abert. This basic research in printed sources Dr. Goetzmann backed up with some apparently rather superficial investigation of the records of the Corps in the National Archives, some broad if not deep research in other depositories, and much more intensive use of the wealth of manuscripts at Yale, where the original version of the book was written as a doctoral dissertation. The Bibliography Essay at the end intimates that Dr. Goetzmann has seen and digested a much larger body of material than the book itself displays, but it is hard to take such pretensions seriously when he did not find in the basic archive of the Corps such masses of records as I have seen for the Stansbury Survey of 1849-50 or the Simpson Great Basin explorations of 1858-59. In general, manuscript material is used as mere ornamentation for the basic facts drawn from the common published sources; it has not been used to test the validity or extend the range of those sources.

Still, let us be grateful for what actually has been done in this book. The opening chapter makes the point that the Topographical Engineer is or ought to be a Western archetype. The author sees the Corps as "a central institution of Manifest Destiny," while functioning as a department of public works not only for the West but for the entire Nation. It also "contributed importantly to the compilation of scientific knowledge about the interior of the North American Continent," the engineer officers considering themselves "by schooling and profession as [members] of a company of savants." At once a military unit and an "agency of civilian development," the Corps occupied an anomalous position which constantly brought it under fire from one side or the other. Dr. Goetzmann adds that "whichever rôle the Corps played, whether a pawn of politics or an instrument of science, it had to run the gantlet of Congressional scrutiny, at times yielding to pressures but frequently wielding great influence." Thus the Corps "reflected the federal government itself during the early years of the Republic, in that the government, too, had no precedents to follow; was susceptible to the influence of personal leadership, and above all was faced with the ever-mounting problems of national growth."

The origin of the Corps is traced to 1777, when Washington appointed a geographer and surveyor to serve the Continental Army. A full-fledged topographical engineer unit came into being during the War of 1812, kept alive after the war bv frontier duties and labor at internal improvements. The bureau fell into good hands when John J. Abert became its chief in 1829; he politicked to such good purpose that in 1838 the Topographical Engineers became a full-fledged Corps, independent of the Corps of Engineers. Signal activities of ensuing years included surveys of the Great Lakes, improvement of harbors and rivers, and determination of international boundary lines, as well as the explorations and surveys students of Western history most commonly identify with the Corps. All this history Dr. Goetzmann develops to great effect, orienting it to the cultural background of the age.

The second chapter is a galloping survey of the progress of discovery during the first four decades of the 19th century. This is much the weakest part of the book, displaying serious gaps in Dr. Goetzmann's general knowledge, and frequently inaccurate in detail. Once across this chasm, the author gives us excellent chapters on Frémont's early expeditions, the Mexican War reconnaissances, the Mexican boundary survey, other postwar surveys in the West, including the Pacific Railroad surveys, scientific by-products of these various operations, the Pacific wagon roads (here W. Turrentine Jackson is frankly leaned upon), the Utah War and related exploration, and finally, the explorations of Warren and Raynolds in the Sioux country. An epilogue describes the fortunes of some of the stalwarts of the old Corps in the Civil War, and appendices provide a roster of the Corps from 1838 as well as notes on mapping technique and compilation by Emory and Warren. The Bibliographical Essay may be read with profit, though, as indicated above, not with complete trust. Other attractive features of this handsomely-produced volume include a 16-page picture section, a back pocket holding reproductions of well-known maps by Frémont, Preuss, Ives, and Warren, and a previously unknown map by the mountain man, Jim Baker. Reproductions of the Gallatin map (1836) and the Bonneville map (1837) appear in the body of the book, along with 14 modern maps designed to show "routes and boundaries," but frequently bearing erroneous legends and with other distressing defects.

Dale L. Morgan

Lawyers of Los Angeles: A History of the Los Angeles Bar Association and of the Bar of Los Angeles. By W. W. Robinson. (Los Angeles Bar Association, 1959. 370 pp. $7.50.)

For anyone interested in California history, social history, and the history of lawyers, W. W. Robinson's *Lawyers of Los Angeles* is a readable and useful book. It covers a span of time from the early days of the Spanish ranchos down to the present, and a span of topics ranging from horse-thievery and prostitution in old Los Angeles, through Clarence Darrow and the McNamaras and the spectacular career of attorney Earl Rogers, down to the contemporary development of Los Angeles courts, law libraries and bar associations—touching a variety of other subjects in between.

An added attraction are the illustrations, which include an annotated street map of downtown Los Angeles before the turn of the century and pictures of prominent old and new buildings, as well as pictures of judges and lawyers. The appendix, with its information about bar association officers and members of the bench, adds to the utility of the book. All in all, this volume is well worth adding to one's library.

The book was sponsored and "supervised" by the Los Angeles Bar Association, and so it is essentially a "company" history, but like the more sophisticated contemporary company histories, it is sufficiently objective to pass muster when judged by the professional standards of academic historians. We need books of this sort and many more of them (San Francisco lawyers take note!) as building blocks toward a comprehensive picture of lawyers in America.

Studies need to be made with more depth than this book has, with more attention to the sociological structure of the bar, and with more awareness of the rôle law practice plays in the power systems and economy of a community. Mr. Robinson treats Los Angeles as a colorful backdrop. One does not finish his book with a sense of having seen the inner mechanisms of the city at work. About the law and its practice, the reader is given information (albeit very interesting and worthwhile information) rather than ultimate wisdom. Nor does Mr. Robinson show how practice of law in Los Angeles is similar to or different from practice of law in other parts of the country. And yet, this is the most comprehensive book about lawyers in a particular community that this reader has ever seen, so perhaps we should not cavil. We should be grateful, instead, that someone has written such an entertaining and capable book about such an important subject.

Corinne Lathrop Gilb

Prudent Soldier, A Biography of Major General E. R. S. Canby, 1817-1873: his military service in the Indian campaigns, in the Mexican War, in California, New

Mexico, Utah, and Oregon; in the Civil War in the trans-Mississippi West, and as military governor in the post-war South. By Max L. Heyman, Jr. (Frontier Military Series, III. Glendale, Calif.: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1959. 418 pp. $11.00.)

Almost the only spectacular thing Major General Edward Richard Sprigg Canby ever did during his life was to get himself murdered by the Modoc Indians in 1873. Before this event he was scarcely known by the American public. Ten years earlier his assignment as commander of military forces in New York had caused that city's *Evening Express* to ask, "Who is General E. R. S. Canby?" And even today he is remembered, if at all, largely as the first general of the United States Army to be killed by Indians.

Here in the Far West, the names of a now inactive fort in the State of Washington, a small community in Oregon, and a hamlet in California perhaps pay tribute more to the tragic circumstances of his death than to the memory of the man himself. *The Dictionary of American Biography* contains only a brief sketch of his life. In fact, until the appearance of *Prudent Soldier* there was no adequate study of his career.

General Canby deserves better treatment at the hands of historians and a larger place in the hearts of his countrymen. He was one of those steady, loyal, modest, efficient soldiers who are the backbone of every effective army. He was brave and competent in battle, but his forte was staff work and military government. His superiors recognized this fact; and thus, while other Civil War generals reaped the headlines, Canby usually worked quietly behind the scenes making their victories possible.

Canby's career following his graduation from West Point in 1839 was to a large extent a reflection of the military history of his country. He saw his first active service during the final campaigns against the Seminoles, and it fell to his lot to escort the defeated chief, Halleck Tustenuggee, and the remnants of the tribe to exile in Indian Territory. After garrison duty along the Canadian border and a stint of recruiting service, Canby landed in Mexico with Scott's forces and won two citations for gallantry in battle. He then went to California as General Riley's assistant adjutant general and served there during the hectic gold rush years of 1849 and 1850. The next several years were chiefly spent inspecting military posts in Indian Territory, along the Gulf Coast, and in Florida; but in 1855 he was again assigned to a line regiment. After garrison duty in Wisconsin and Minnesota, he participated in the "Mormon War." He commanded the vexing and rather inconclusive campaign against the Navajos in New Mexico during 1860 and 1861.

His true worth as a field officer was demonstrated shortly after the start of the Civil War. Placed in command of the Department of New Mexico, he brought about the complete collapse of the Confederate attempt to invade that Territory from Texas. Canby was destined to serve behind a desk in Washington during much of the conflict, as an assistant to the Secretary of War. But he was occasionally sent to the field as a "trouble shooter," as when he took over the command of a riot-torn New York in 1863. Another such assignment came in 1864, when he was placed in charge of the Military Division of West Mississippi. In this capacity he teamed up with Admiral Farragut for the successful Mobile campaign, and he received the surrender of the last two Confederate armies in the field. Following the war, he served as military governor in several southern states. Although his rôle was often an unpopular one, his efficient and conscientious administration is credited with smoothing the stormy path of Reconstruction. Needing rest after this strenuous duty, he requested transfer to the distant Columbia Department in 1870. Three years later, while parleying for peace with the Modocs, he was treacherously shot down by Captain Jack.

This, in brief, is the story which Dr. Heyman presents in *Prudent Soldier*. Students of military history, of the West, and of the Civil War have reason to be thankful for this competent study which at long last gives the career of General Canby the book-length treatment it deserves. Despite the fact that very few of Canby's personal papers are known to exist, Dr. Heyman, through the skillful use of small items produced by diligent research, has managed to bring out the essential qualities of the general's personality.

Californians will take particular interest in two sections of the book. First, there is the story of Canby's tour of duty at Monterey and Sonoma during the gold rush. Few remember that he performed a valuable service to the new state as guardian of its public archives. Second, there is the account of the Modoc War, the main theater of which was near the northeast corner of California. Although Dr. Heyman's description of the conflict is necessarily brief, it is refreshing, since it presents the affair from General Canby's viewpoint, a matter which appears not to have greatly interested many other writers on the war. And despite all that has been written on the subject, Dr. Heyman has something new to say. He has uncovered letters written by Canby to his wife from the scene of the conflict, and the short quotations he presents from this correspondence constitute a distinct contribution to the literature on the Modoc War.

Prudent Soldier, it must be stated, is not a literary masterpiece. Neither is it a "life and times" of General Canby. As a matter of fact there are occasions, as in the account of Canby's services during the Mexican War, when a considerable amount of background knowledge on the part of the reader is presupposed—a condition undoubtedly due to limitations of space. The same considerations surely are responsible for the lack of a detailed bibliography, an omission certain to be felt by serious students, in a 418-page book where the complete titles of sources are given only on the occasion of their first citation.

What Dr. Heyman has produced is a sound, scholarly, and interesting biography of an important figure in our nation's history. One of his chapters, the account of the Navajo Campaign of 1860-1861, is perhaps the best summary of its subject. He throws new light on the conduct of the Modoc War. These are reasons enough for classifying *Prudent Soldier* as a book worth reading—and owning.

John A. Hussey

Letters of the Pike's Peak Gold Rush [*or Early Day Letters from Auraria*]. *Early-day Letters by Libeus Barney, reprinted from the Bennington Banner, Vermont, 1859-1860.* By Libeus Barney. (San Jose, Calif.: The Talisman Press, 1959. 00 pp. $6.50.)

Libeus Barney, young Vermonter, responded to the reports of gold and traveled in the first stagecoach to Denver. His letters home are a lively report of and commentary on happenings during the eventful first year in the new gold country.

The first four of his nine letters were written by a sorely disappointed man, gave very disparaging accounts, and were signed by "One of the Dupes"; but in November he suddenly became an enthusiastic booster for the country. The transformation came after he retreated from his dismal essays at mining and turned to living off the miners. He built the Appolo House, which was to serve as a theater, gambling hall, chamber for the legislature of "Jefferson Territory," and for other purposes. Later he was to handle real estate successfully.

Barney was a close observer of conditions, and a talented painter of the current scene. He gives a detailed description of the Bliss-Stone duel, names the numerous gambling games, and describes vigilante justice, mining operations, the visiting Indians, etc.

The Barney letters constitute an excellent and prized source of early Colorado history. Almost unavailable heretofore, these descriptive essays are most welcome in this fine new edition. Thomas H. Ferril writes a good Introduction; but there is nothing in the way of editorial identifications or annotations in the text. The index (1½ pages) is too brief for much use. The rare 1862 Pratt-Buell map with Dillingham's sketches is reproduced and included.

LeRoy R. Hafen

Anaheim, "The Mother Colony." By Mildred Yorba MacArthur. (Los Angeles: The Ward Ritchie Press, 1959. 260 pp. $7.50.)

In the early 1950's, Walt Disney put Anaheim on the international map by choosing one hundred and sixty of its acres as site for Disneyland. But so incidental is Disney's phantasmagoria to this slow, sweet recording of Anaheim's first hundred years—1857 to 1957—that he is given short shrift and a half a page.

Mildred Yorba MacArthur, descendant of four pioneer California families, compiled and wrote *Anaheim* at the behest of the Chamber of Commerce, as one facet of the city's Centennial Celebration. Released by the Chamber, the book has now been published by The Ward Ritchie Press. Despite its beauty of binding and format, it is a work of parochial appeal. Only the first of its three sections deserves a general reader, for it contains the story of the colonizing of Anaheim by a stout group of German vineyardists from San Francisco. The town and its vineyards were planned, platted, and planted even unto its snug encircling willow hedge to keep out coyotes, before it was settled. Irrigation ditches criss-crossed its fields. In this orderly, engineered setting, the German colonists prospered, intermarrying with the Spaniards, served by the Chinese.

Mrs. MacArthur recounts the development of the town and its citizenry as the economy shifted from vine to citrus to beer, oil, and finally small industry. Her recording of this progression is placid and highly personalized, with anecdote and statistic in jolting juxtaposition. So steady and sturdy was the way of life, that the two-year presence of Madame Modjeska with Sienkiewicz as part of her entourage, seems astonishing, as does the equally fleeting presence of an ostrich farm. The book is punctuated by photographs, quaintly appealing, but of decidedly regional interest.

The second section is a reporting of interviews with today's descendants of the founder-families. This, and the final portion which contains an account by the mayor, of Anaheim's successful campaign to attract industry, are truly for local consumption.

As the basis for the first segment of the book, Mrs. MacArthur has used sources from Bancroft to Anaheim family notes. Her story meanders down through its century, but it is agreeable to read of life when doughnuts were six for a nickel, haircuts a quarter, to ponder a cookie recipe of yesteryear, to learn incidentally that the male ostrich shares in the egg-sitting, and to know so cozily the matrix from which sprang Thomas Kuchel and Arthur Coons of Occidental.

Elizabeth Wecter Pine

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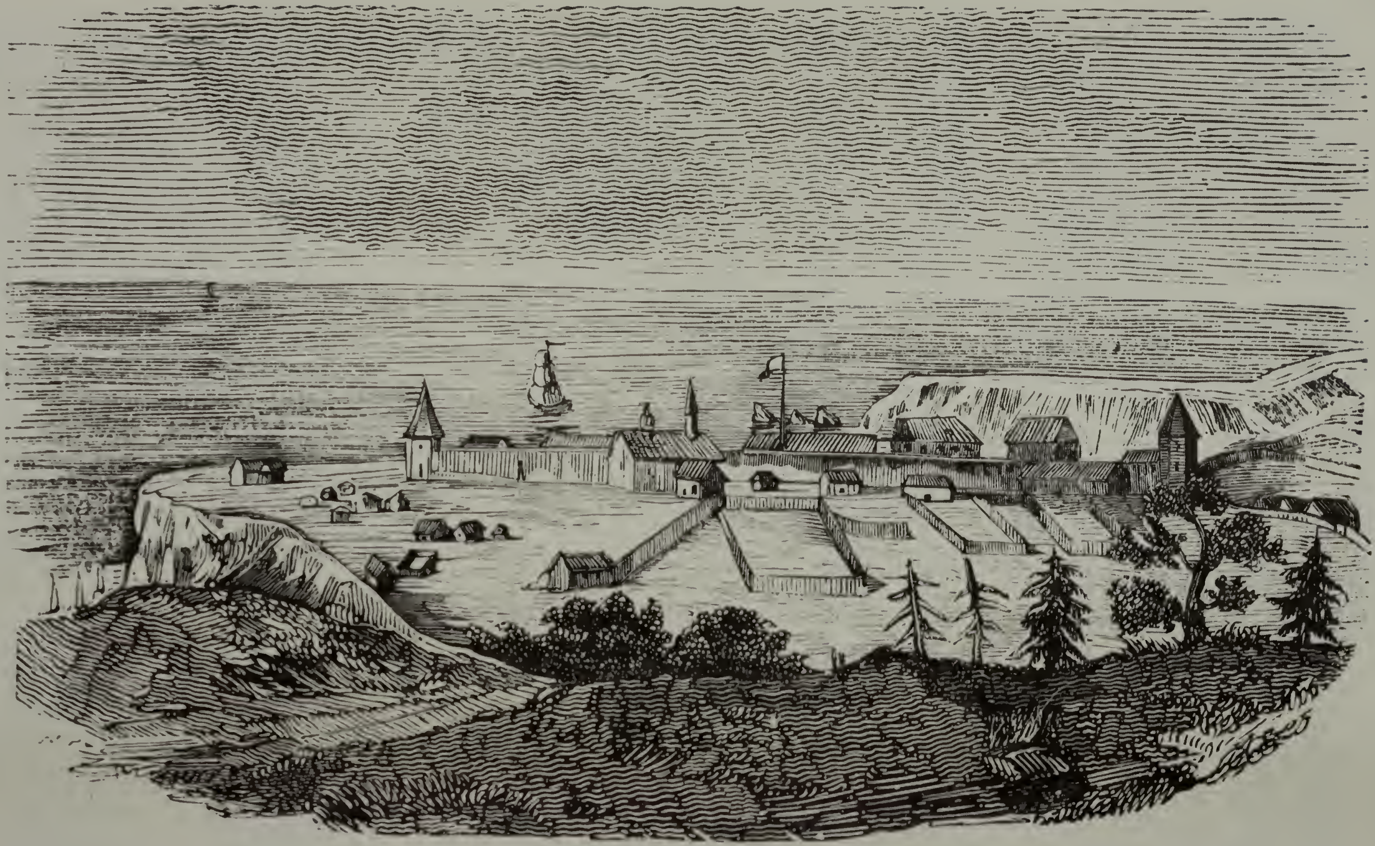


View of Ross, Russian settlement near Bodega
Illustration from the Italian translation of A. Duhaut-Cilly, *Viaggio intorno al Globo*, Turin, 1841.
In the Society Library

Letters of A. Rotchev,
Last Commandant at Fort Ross

AND THE
RESUMÉ OF THE REPORT OF THE RUSSIAN-AMERICAN COMPANY FOR THE YEAR 1850-51

Translated from the German, with an Introduction

By FREDERICK C. CORDES

INTRODUCTION: In 1942, while thumbing through a Peter Decker Catalogue, I came across an item which intrigued me. It was listed as follows: "109 (California) Schreiben eines Russen aus Californien. Seven letters written by A Rottschew. (Contained in Arch. für Wissenschaftliche Kunde von Russland, 11 Band 4tes heft.) Long letters by a *German* of the Russian American Company who visited California during the Gold Rush. Not in Cowan."

Being able to read German, I sent for it and was thrilled when I discovered that it was in reality Rotchev, the last Commandant of Fort Ross, who had written these letters. Inquiry from the Bancroft Library brought the following reply:

"As far as I can ascertain, the Rotchev letters have not been published in an English translation. Of course, it is always difficult to state definitely that something has *not* been published; but I have checked every source of information at all likely to list such a work, and I am sure that you are perfectly safe in going ahead with your projected translation and publication. I think these letters should be brought to light; the manuscript collection of the Bancroft Library contains innumerable references to Rotchev, but we have never seen any of his own writings."

Inquiry from Mr. Keithahn, Librarian and Curator of the Alaska Historical Library and Museum, brought a similar reply. As a result, the letters were translated and copies sent to the two above-mentioned libraries. With the coming of the war, the matter was forgotten until recently, when it occurred to me that these letters might be of interest to the readers of the California Historical Society *Quarterly*.

To fully appreciate these letters, it is essential that the reader have at least a little knowledge of the background of the individual who wrote them.

As is apparent from the footnote[9] of the editor of the "Archives," Rotchev[1] had tried his hand at many things without much success. After entering the service of the Russian-American Company, he was assigned to Fort Ross, where he was Commandant from 1829 to 1841.

As nicely summarized by Essig,[2] the Russians were interested in California primarily as a fur-trading center and as a place for the production of food for the employees of the Russian Colonies in Kamchatka and Alaska. All this was done under the aegis of the Russian-American Company, which was in reality a front for the Russian Government. One of the real purposes behind the establishment of the colony was the hope to establish a stronghold at Fort Ross as one of the bases that was to help bring the entire northern Pacific Ocean under Russian control.

Fort Ross was established in 1812 particularly to provide the mother colony at Sitka with agricultural products. The site chosen was a strip of bare tableland some two miles long and nearly a mile wide on the coast, eighteen miles north of the port now known as Bodega Bay.[3] During the first few years a lucrative seal and sea-otter hunt carried on at the expense of agriculture had seemed to justify the erection of extensive buildings and fortifications. However, the Russian hunters were so zealous that within a period of five years they had almost entirely exterminated the seals and the sea otter.

The site was such that attempts at agriculture were a failure. This, combined with the encroachment of American settlers, the incessant friction with the Mexican authorities and the extermination of the fur-bearing animals, led to the decision by the Russian authorities on April 15, 1839, to abandon Fort Ross. The fort was finally sold to Sutter, and in December of 1841, the Russians left Fort Ross, and on January 1, 1842,[2] set sail from San Francisco after twenty-nine years of occupation. During the last twelve years of the occupation Rotchev was the Commandant.

As pointed out by Henderson,[4] Rotchev and his wife grieved deeply over the relinquishment of Fort Ross. When Mrs. Rotchev heard that Sutter was dismantling the fort and shipping the property to Sutter's Fort, she summed up the sentimental regret of the Russians in one pathetic plea: "Do not, I pray you, destroy the glass-windowed conservatory facing the garden in which I have spent so many happy hours." However, that little vestige of Russian comfort and satisfaction was not preserved, for, as Sutter explained in his apology to her, "Having taken the building apart, my men could not restore it as they did not understand the workmanship of Russian carpenters."

Regarding the man himself, Duflot de Mofras[5] says, "From a personal standpoint, appreciation of the amicable welcome that was invariably accorded our party by the Russian officials during our visit in 1841 cannot be too warmly expressed. The Governor of Ross, Alexander de Rotchev, his wife, nee Princess Gazarin (and other officials), exerted themselves at all times to make our visit at their settlements agreeable." Bancroft[6] says that Alexander Rotchev was spoken of in complimentary terms by all who met him, as a gentleman of courteous manners and of much administrative ability. He could, however, be violent and insulting, as he was in defiance of Vallejo[7] when he ran up the Russian flag at Bodega and ordered Vallejo's men away. However, at the end of a year, these two men were again "on tolerably good terms."

Upon his return to Russia after the period covered by the letters, Rotchev[8] wrote for the "St. Petersburg Wedomosty" and the "St. Petersburg Police Leaflet." Prior to the Crimea War, he published a brochure, "The Truth about England and the Expansion of Its Possessions in All Parts of the World." In 1854, he also published "The Reminiscences of a Russian Traveler in the West Indies, California and East Indies." At the close of his life, he was a collaborator in "Saratov Leaflets of Information." Alexander Gavriolovich Rotchev died in 1873 at the age of sixty.

This, then, is the man who wrote the following letters. Having been in California for twelve years at Fort Ross, he returned ten years later in an attempt to build up a fortune in the gold fields. However, as the editor of the "Archives" says in his footnote to the letters, "He arrived too late to recover that which previously he might have obtained with little effort."

A second item of interest in the same number (p. 61) of the *Archives* was a resume of the report of the Russian-American Company for the year 1850-51, also translated here. One item especially interested me; namely, the rubles donated to charity. It was found that the income derived from the shares of stock of the company owned by the Czar and Czarina was donated to charity each year.

* * * * *

THE LETTERS OF A RUSSIAN FROM CALIFORNIA[9]

Archiv f. wissensch. Kunde v. Russland

Vol. II, No. 4, pg 628, 1852

I

Island of St. Thomas, West Indies, August 23, 1851

After a pleasant journey of twenty-one days, we dropped anchor on the cove of the Island of St. Thomas. It is one of the most beautiful of the West Indian Islands and belongs to the Danes. Here we delivered mail, landed passengers destined for Jamaica, Havana and Mexico, and as soon as coal had been taken aboard, continued to the Continent of America, to Santa Marta, Cartagena and Chagres. The journey on the English steamship is glorious. The tropical heavens, the wonderful scenery of the equatorial lands is before me anew. The palms and coconut trees nod their heads through the window. My health improves visibly; I do not know how I will fare in the future, but at present I am well. After I have crossed the Isthmus of Panama, I will be in San Francisco in about fifteen days. Tonight we will raise anchor. The voyage continues over the Caribbean Sea (the Mexican Gulf). I am the first Russian to make the tour; I will discuss it when I have it behind me.

II

Panama (Republic of New Granada). September 6, 1851

From the first line of my letter you will see that I have recently looked upon the shore of the Pacific Ocean. Our voyage from England to the Isthmus of Panama was an unusually pleasant one. Our mighty steamer, although not known as a particularly fast ship, traveled 200 to 250 miles in twenty-four hours, and what more can one ask? After we had left the Antilles we visited the coasts of New Granada, Santa Marta, Cartagena, and Chagres. Formerly all of these points were strongly fortified by the Spaniards, because of the fact that all the gold transported from America to Europe passed over this isthmus. When one sees these ruins, one is impressed by the might that was formerly possessed by the now decadent Spain, and still more impressed by the daring of the filibusters, who were accustomed to attacking these strongholds. Today the walls of these forts are overgrown by moss and weeds, and it goes without saying that there are no pirates in the entire Caribbean Sea. In Chagres yellow fever with black vomit is raging; therefore I remained there for only two hours. I had to pay for the quiet and comfortable passage from Europe with all types of hardships from Chagres to Panama. At present it is the rainy season here; the water in the rivers has reached the high-water level and is extraordinarily rapid; choked by tremendous tree trunks and branches, it does not offer the canoe of the savage a very comfortable passage, and yet this is the only way in which it is possible to go up the stream. If the boat capsizes, the traveler, in addition to the loss of his baggage, runs the risk of being devoured by an alligator; or, on shore, in the trackless virgin forest, of becoming the prey of a jaguar. We were to have an example of this last unpleasant experience. My boat was thrown upon a submerged tree trunk by the current. The Indian jumped into the water, shoved the boat off, but was, however, unable to get back into it. The current carried us away while the guide, afraid of alligators, swam ashore. All of a sudden we heard a frightful cry of anguish . . . As rapidly as possible we went to his aid, but the unfortunate man was no longer visible; the jaguar had torn him to pieces and carried him away![10] After a very fatiguing three-day journey we reached the village of Cruzes, where I left the boat and mounted a mule. You know that I am an accomplished muleteer; it was therefore possible for me to go from Cruzes to Panama in one day, a journey that for some requires four days. We have seen the Ochotsker Taiga together and I am familiar with the banks of the Yensei and Angara, but I have never seen anything that resembles this road. The small rocky path is at times so narrow that mule with its rider can hardly struggle through. The air is filled with the cry of animals, apes, parrots, the twittering of birds;

in a word, the traveler finds himself in what appears to be a fairy world. And what scenery! To describe it is impossible; one must see it with one's own eyes. Pistols, a carbine, a good knife are therefore very necessary escorts on this journey. In addition, I wouldn't advise anyone without experience to attempt the journey; there are many "speculators," who without reaching California, find wealth in the pockets of the travelers. A short time ago seven Germans, en route, were slaughtered like ducks. They had very heavy trunks in which the murderers expected to find gold. The Germans came from Europe and the supposed gold turned out to be their joiner's tools. The murderers were arrested and were executed in Panama. They were natives of New Granada. Afterwards nine Americans of a similar gang were arrested; they, however, escaped from the prison at Panama and are now probably continuing their profession. When the municipal authorities reported this occurrence they added the bold assurance that, should the robbers be caught, they would be hanged without mercy.

The post for Europe leaves today and I must close my writing. From here, California seems near at hand. The last steamer brought 1,500,000 piasters of gold dust; aside from this, the passengers personally carried 400,000 piasters. The discovery and yield of gold in California is still on the increase. In addition, everything is now cheap there. I personally saw this shipment, and similar ones go through here two to three times a month. I will not leave here until September 15, as there is no steamer leaving prior to that date.

III

California Goldmines, Yuba River; Murderer's Bar
November 10, 1851

I have now been in the gold regions of California for almost ten days and I haven't overcome my amazement at all that I have seen. The opulence of the gold-bearing stratum is wonderful, unbelievable. Often I have seen with my own eyes that a pan of earth contained 10, 20, 40, yes 100 piasters of gold dust. Deposits of 4 to 5 zolotnik (96th part of a Russian pound) per hundred poods (40 Russian or 36 English pounds) are not operated here because, with their miserable small cradles, the miners could not obtain sufficient to support themselves, while with us in Siberia, the same deposit would be considered rich. The mountains and slopes of this country offer, according to our conception, a rich yield, but here in California no one pays any attention to them. All the gold camps that are considered rich here are owned by companies who derive immense profits from them because they bypass all the ground that does not promise fabulous treasure. The work done here is very inefficient. People of all nations, of all strata, that misfortune has brought together here, dig and burrow in the ground like wild boars; and as soon as they no longer earn 10 to 12 piasters daily they desert the diggin's and hunt another elsewhere that is richer. I will have to bear many hardships and much suffering here, yet I hope, with God's help, to achieve my goal. It would be very much worth while if one of our enterprising capitalists could be here, if only for a short time. A deposit of 4 to 5 zolotnik per 100 poods of sand is readily found; there are many of these in which the work was started and then abandoned. Our forgotten Siberian equipment could in fact be used to advantage; my intention, however, is to carry out the work with vats and harrows [For details of this machine see these Archives IV.125 and VI.333] and join up with a rich company.

When I left the Yuba, P - - - went north; I am certain that he will not have spent his time in vain. After I had spent some time with Sutter I was convinced that he could not be helpful to me; he is so poor and in addition, hardly master of his soul. And this man could have possessed millions. I am glad that I learned to know his condition so soon; the hope I had in him is shattered, but how many hopes in life are frustrated! . . . The rainy season has started and nature is visibly invigorated. The weather is warm and pleasant.

IV

San Francisco, December 3, 1851

It wasn't until yesterday that I received the first two letters from Russia, dated the end of July and August 15th. . . . It is interesting to observe the difference between the methods of work employed in this country and our own. The work in California, in the majority of cases, is done by two or three men working together. In washing gold they preferably use a sort of cradle (rockers). In these miserable machines, with the greatest effort and under the most favorable circumstances they cannot sift more than 150 wedro [wedro is a pail holding about 2¾ gal.; 5.5920 wedro equals 1 bucket] of sand from a nearby deposit, or nearly 100 wedro if there is a scarcity of water. Because of this, individual workers must hunt out unusually rich deposits, as the average content of 5 zolotnik per 100 wedro of earth would hardly cover the cost, much less permit putting something aside. The earth, therefore, that contains only this average quantity of gold, in California, can be washed only with the aid of machines; however, everything that bears the name of a gold-washing machine is so utterly useless that it need receive very little consideration. One cannot see these desultory, planless, grubbed-up, ravaged and obstructed camps without indignation.

With bitter toil the gold seeker scratches in the earth, and when he is disappointed in his calculation, he wanders with his cradle like a homeless tramp from one place to another. The French, above all, are a sacrifice to this disorder, as they form no associations; they do not have the slightest success here and the Viscounts and officers prefer to sit at the gaming tables and occupy themselves with different small trades and handicrafts. The Americans understand the matter better; there are numerous associations; they have not, however, invented gold-washing machines. The associations wash the gold in baskets with quicksilver, in the belief that the gold is amalgamated through this process; however, by this process they lose a mass of the quicksilver and at least a fourth of the gold. When worked in this manner, what riches the deposits must possess in order to pay for the labor!

Another circumstance enters into the situation: The Americans are at home here in their own country (although the opportunity, without exception, is open to everyone); they have monopolized the best places, as for example, the bed of the Yuba where I personally observed a miner obtain 80 to 100 Spanish dollars from a single pood of sand, using only an ordinary pan. They have diverted the bed of the Yuba as much as possible and work here until they are driven out by the seeping water.

Let us consider the situation from another viewpoint. Without great difficulty one can obtain locations that, on the average, will yield 5 zolotnik of gold per 100 pood or wedro of sand; locations of this type, as already stated, are soon abandoned. However, with a Siberian harrow and vats, and employing eight laborers, 3,000 wedro of this unusually light, loose, gold-containing earth could be washed without difficulty. The result of this work would amount to 300 piasters daily if one considers each wedro as 10 cents. The difference between this and the results obtained by the machines used here is obviously tremendous.

V

San Francisco, December 29, 1851

The new year is at hand and I look forward to it with great hopes. If Fortune will but favor me a little, realization of these hopes will not fail. After seeing the California diggin's in the North as well as the South, I came here for the purpose of forming a company to carry out my plans. I was brought to this decision by many motives: above all by the insufficiency of my personal funds, and in the second place by the necessity of having maintenance and support in a land where "whoever takes the rod is corporal" (kto palku wsjal, tot i kapral). As good luck would have it, I became acquainted with a rich, cultured Chilean merchant from Santiago de St. Arcos, who has assumed half of the cost of the first machine, and who has promised to establish a credit of 40,000 piasters to my credit with a banker at the first demonstration of success, which because of the precautions taken, I know will be achieved.

After I have ordered the construction of the machine in San Francisco and have purchased the necessary things for the project, I will in two days set out for Murderer's Bar on the Yuba, where I intend to make the first trials. There will be a great deal of work but the pleasant thoughts of the future will sweeten this labor. My health, which improved shortly after my arrival, has recently been shattered; the rain, the terrible storms and the dampness have affected me a great deal; perhaps the warm spring air will again restore me. At times I am terribly dejected; here I live a very one-sided life, away from everything that satisfies the heart and flatters the intellect. I have never been a friend of wine and just as little of cards, and when I see the gambling in its worst form—when I see gaming tables on the street at which women sit to attract the passing stranger (how the puppets are ornamented)—I become downright disgusted and flee this repulsing drama.

VI

San Francisco, January 27, 1852

Several days ago I arrived here to obtain a patent for the first gold-washing machine which I have set up on the Yuba River. Tomorrow I return to Murderer's Bar and then will start work without further delay. It has been difficult for me to get on my feet, having been disappointed in my hopes of help from Sutter, but since I have joined up with the Spaniard, everything is much better and there are now sufficient funds to carry on the work.

Briefly, everything is going very well. The atmosphere in which I move seems to have given me new life. Work is honored here and is also properly rewarded. And what a country this is! Here everyone can do as he pleases as long as he doesn't violate the stipulations of society as a whole. The Americans have discovered California with its gold and its fruitful fields, and have placed upon its shield the word "Eureka" together with the motto: *Labor omnia vincit;* while the motto is excellent, the fact that everyone may share the benefit of this discovery is even better.

By the way, truthfully one must admit that next to the Americans the French colonists are the most efficient business people. [These remarks are diametrically opposed to an earlier comment by the author. Perhaps he means the French Creoles from New Orleans, St. Louis and Canada. D. Ubers. Ermans Russ. Arch. Vol. XI, No. 4.] The union of these two elements has brought about wonders and will continue to produce wonders; namely, a colonization the like of which has never been seen before. What a swarm of people pour into this land! In the course of one month, six to seven steamers arrive here with a full passenger list, several of which could carry 1,200 people. On their return these ships monthly carry four to five million dollars in gold as freight, to which is added about two million which is the property of the passengers and which is carried by them in their belts. This sum, multiplied by twelve, surpasses the yearly yield of our Russian mines about fourfold, and if Australia now will yield half of this amount, a very presentable figure will be produced. Meanwhile, the political economists are wrong in becoming uneasy over the situation; it will be a long time before casseroles and plates will be made of gold, and the rich influx of the precious metal serves only for the recreation of the peoples.

VII

Murderer's Bar, Yuba River; February 23, 1852

California is a land that can be compared to no other. The poor man is rich here and the rich man is poor. In many lands the pauper begs for alms or works for a piece of bread, while here he receives five Spanish dollars (25 paper rubles) for the smallest day labor. Accordingly, the rich man must have ample means to be able to carry on his business without interruption! The burning desire to become wealthy rapidly robs many of their reason. People who arrive with considerable capital often lose everything; safe returns can only be hoped for by those who, even with small means, utilize their opportunities prudently. I do not refer to gold mining—more of that later. As a consumer one can live comfortably for 40 piasters a month and as a producer one can easily earn 200 to 300 piasters monthly. It is only necessary to decide to work and then choose an occupation. The American knows how to adapt himself quickly: several stakes, a piece of sail cloth as a tent, a wagon, two mules—and the domestic economy is finished. As soon as this is in order he prepares to raise provisions: a hen is for him a capital of 4 to 5 piasters, a pig 50 to 80, a sheep 16, a hundred pounds of potatoes 3 to 5 piasters. When one considers the fertility of the soil here and the safe, lucrative market among the tremendous influx of immigrants, one can easily understand the success offered to a man with an enterprising spirit who does not arrive with empty hands.

Money produces money (Dengu dengu bjot) says our proverb. And, in fact, without money it would go very badly here. I wouldn't advise anybody without means to come to California; former conditions no longer exist here. However, whatever one does produces money. A Jew arrived here a year ago with 10,000 silver rubles and since that time has made a fortune of half a million in occupying himself solely with the purchase and forwarding of gold to Europe for which he issued drafts on London and Paris banking houses. If one of my own countrymen, not a great capitalist, but a man of independent means, came to me in California, I would quickly be able to point out safe and worthwhile enterprises. You may answer: There is nothing new in what you say; the same thing is available everywhere. That is true, but not on such a colossal scale. Here 5 per cent monthly interest is considered legal and honorable and is used without reproach. From my window there is visible a bridge that was built across the Yuba River. The contractor borrowed 10,000 piasters at 9 per cent monthly; that is, 108 per cent a year. After the bridge was finished he demanded such a high toll that in four months he had recovered not only the entire capital, but the interest as well. At the entrance to the bridge he erected a small house in which his wife collected the toll from the travelers and thus he quickly became a capitalist. Occasionally such enterprises fail. "No harm done," says the American and starts something new.

Now a few words about the gold. According to the most reliable sources, 8,000 pood of gold are shipped out of California yearly; in other words, over four times as much as is brought to light in Russia. The diggings here have been that successful—this in spite of the fact that the methods are very primitive and that the gold-bearing ground is grubbed up in all directions, without order or system. Even with small capital, suitably supervised work following our methods could produce the most astounding results; for no matter where one turns, gold is to be found and at times in unbelievable amounts. As already mentioned, I personally was eye-witness to the fact that out of a single pood of earth a miner washed 80 to 100 dollars, or 400 to 500 paper rubles, of gold. It is not difficult to find a site that will produce 50 kopeks per pood of earth; the greatest difficulty encountered is starting the project. In spite of my knowledge and in spite of the fact that I am familiar with the language and the country itself, it will be difficult for me to succeed because of the fact that I came here without capital. I will, without a doubt, make both ends meet, but it will require great effort. The quartz here is also amazingly rich; with little effort one finds places that yield 6 cents per pound. The Mexican quartz, which heretofore has been considered the richest, can boast of no such yield. Because of the lack of labor and the imperfection of the methods which are employed, even this gold content is not sufficient to pay; only on a large scale can this be profitable.

I will close my letter with a fleeting glance at the political situation of the country. It is a truly remarkable one. One finds all types here! Eccentric demagogues, red republicans here are all as peaceful as lambs. One isn't aware of them; no one looks at them and they disturb no one. Would you believe it, there are many here who do not know who rules the country? Everyone who comes, from God knows where, goes about his business, carries it on as well as possible and as long as he doesn't violate the laws of the American Commonwealth, he hears a friendly welcome everywhere. It is a very interesting life! The gold has acquainted many with California, but in Russia little is known about it and I believe, therefore, that these accounts from a direct source will be read with interest.

A. Rotchev

Resumé of the Report of the
RUSSIAN-AMERICAN COMPANY
for the Year 1850-1851[11]

Archiv f. wissensch. Kunde v. Russland;

Vol. II, No. 4, pg 621

The Sjewernaja Ptschela[12] contains a report of the Russian-American Trades Association for the year 1850-1851, from which we have taken the following:

The income of the Company for the year 1850 reached 752,675 rub. 65 kop.; the disbursements were 628,628 rub. 35 kop. Of the profits 112,260 rub. were paid out as dividends on the basis of 15 rub. per share; 11,226 rub. were incorporated into the reserve capital and 561 rub. 30 kop. were donated to charity.

On January 1, 1851, there were in the employ of the Company in the colonies: 1 staff officer and 3 officers of the Imperial Marines, 1 officer of the Mountain Engineering Corps, 4 civilian officials and 30 members of the clergy. The total number of employees was 686. The population of the colonies was 9,273 persons, of whom 4,823 were male and 4,450 were female.

Of these there were:

Russian	505	Kanakas	1,070
Creoles	1,703	Tchougatski	1,857[13]
Aleutians	4,051	Kurilese	97

New Archangel alone had 970 inhabitants, Russians, Creoles and Aleutians. Sanitary conditions were more unfavorable than in the preceding year but in spite of this there were no epidemics.

In the year 1850 the boys school in New Archangel was attended by 43 students; the girls school by 45. The seminary had 27 pupils, among them 5 native-born. In addition, 12 young people were sent to various institutions in St. Petersburg at Company expense.

The hunting was very successful in all parts of the colonies. On the Island of Tugidak[14] almost as many beaver were caught as in the year 1848. The trapping of fox on Kodiak[15] and the hunting of marmot (Jewraschki) on the Island of Ukamok[16] which had been discontinued in the year 1848, were renewed after the animals had been given time to multiply and the results were entirely satisfactory. In addition, in the Unga[17] district the yield was good except for the whales, who for some time have almost ceased settling on the peninsula of Alaska. The seal and stone-fox (Canis lago pus) on the Pribilof Islands, where the number of seals increases yearly, were very much better.

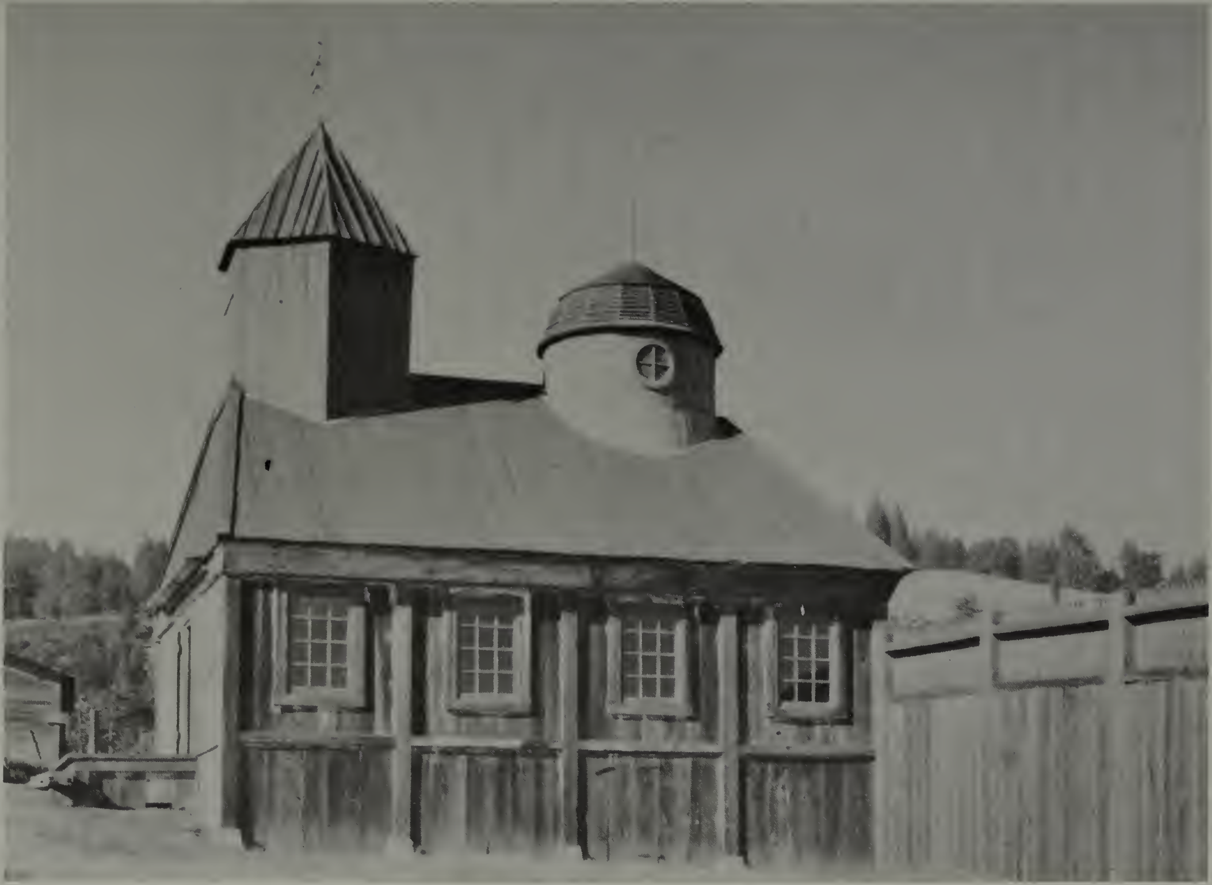
In the year 1850 Mr. Iwanow, Assistant to the Directors of the Company at New Archangel, was taken to San Francisco on a Company ship with instructions to collect from Sutter the balance of his debt on the purchase of the Colony of Ross. In addition, if possible, he was to dispose of a small assortment of different wares and products of the Russian colony, assigned a value of 65,579 rubles, together with three prefabricated wooden houses constructed for this purpose. As an installment on his debt, Sutter paid Mr. Iwanow 7,000 piasters, or 10,000 silver rubles and promised to make definite arrangements for the balance with Mr. Steward, who was appointed Russian Vice-consul in San Francisco and who was told by Mr. Bodisko, the Ambassador to the United States, that any disciplinary action taken in the settlement of this affair would meet with his approval. In addition to the houses, a third of the wares sent to California was sold. One of the houses was erected on a piece of ground acquired in San Francisco in 1849 and, together with the lot, was sold cheaply. A part of the proceeds were taken by Mr. Iwanow: to avoid a long delay, the collection of the rest was left to Mr. Steward, which he was able to accomplish.

Due to the high price of food in California it was possible to only buy a small amount of corned beef etc. there. Because of this 7,700 silver-rubles in foreign money and 1 pood, 45 zolotnik of gold dust were taken aboard the ship "Knjas" from San Francisco to New Archangel. In place of a letter of credit the piasters obtained from California were given to the various ships of the Company destined to sail around the world, to be used by them to defray their expenses in the various harbors; the gold dust, carried to St. Petersburg in the ship "Atcha" and delivered to the mint was found to consist of 1 pood, 7 pounds, 44 zolotnik, 12 theile pure gold and 6 pounds, 56 zolotnik, 76 theile silver, from which the treasury of the Company received 16,787 rub. 59 kop. silver. From this it is apparent that the Russian commerce with California in the year 1850, although showing a good profit, was considerably below that of 1849 in which this commerce, because of the peculiar conditions in California at that time, was carried on with unusually profitable results. At that time there was, conjointly with a sudden increase of wealth among the inhabitants, an unusual demand for all possible types of wares, which sold for high prices; while in 1850 the shops of San Francisco were filled with manufactured and other products of the whole world, so that only a part of the articles sent from New Archangel could be sold to advantage.

The diminution of the population of the Sandwich Islands following an epidemic that swept away 12,000 souls, and the constant emigration to California, together with the excessive increase in the price of the native products of these islands, has changed the entire aspect of the commerce with these islands. Aside from acquiring the salt, contracted for at a favorable price and which under the present circumstances represents the principal export to the colonies, the commerce of the Company with the islands shrank in the year 1850 to the insignificant sale of colonial products and the purchase of granulated sugar, syrup and other articles. During the stay of the Brig "Baikal" in Honolulu it was visited by the King of the Sandwich Islands and his Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs and Imperial Chancellor. Mr. Klinkowstrom, the Commander of the Brig, according to local custom, entertained the King in his cabin, on which occasion the King, through his Minister, instructed the Captain, in his name, to assure the chief administrator of the colonies that he continued to be prepared to give the trade between Russia and the Sandwich Islands his protection and support.

The development of the whaling industry in the colonies has received the attention of the Board of Directors for some time and, with this in mind, they obtained an experienced American whaler, Thomas Barton, who was engaged not only to kill whales with the harpoon but also to teach this method to the natives. After his arrival several whaleboats and a group of Aleutians, equipped with all the necessary implements, were put at his disposal. During the course of five years Barton tried whaling in all parts of the colonies, but as his efforts were without success the entire project was dropped in the year 1838. In the meantime, the Directors could not help but observe the continuation of whaling by foreigners in the northern water of the Pacific Ocean; its increase convinced them still more of the profitableness of the industry in the above-named waters. The newly acquired commerce of the Company with California and the Sandwich Islands, in support of which it was necessary to employ the major portion of the Company's flotilla, did not permit the Directors to devote much consideration at the same time to whaling. This pursuit was, therefore, as it had been previously, left in the hands of the natives who carried it on only to satisfy their personal needs and on a very reduced scale. The Aleutians, who nourish themselves primarily from the meat and fat of the whale, caught only as many as were necessary for their support and traded to the Company only the whale bone, which they did not use and which was sent to Europe with the other colonial products. With the increase of foreign whaling, the presence in the interim of a large number of foreign vessels in waters that wash the shores of the Russian-American Colonies caused many unpleasant situations for the Company.

The whalers at times landed along the coast and attempted to carry on trade with the natives, hunt fur-bearing animals, cut wood, etc., and the Company saw itself forced to use decisive measures to do away with these encroachments. Consequently, in the year 1844, a cruiser was sent out to control the whalers; as a single cruiser was insufficient to control such a large area and the maintenance of more cruisers was too much of a burden on the Company, the Directors decided to combine the patrol with whaling. They therefore ordered several small vessels built for this purpose which, equipped with the proper implements, could take part in whaling in the colonies and at the same time serve as cruisers. This plan had not as yet been carried out when the Company was notified that, as a result of the presentation in Court of the Governor-General of East Siberia, Lieutenant-General Murawjew, the Emperor had let it become known that he desired to establish Russian



Recent photograph of the Russian Church at Fort Ross, as restored

In the Society Library

whaling in the Pacific Ocean under the immediate supervision of the Russian-American Company. The Board of Directors knew that the shippers of Abo in Finland were most anxious to form a mutual whaling organization, and it seemed most desirable to be associated with such experienced sailors and shipwrights. They, therefore, started negotiations with them for the formation of the Russian-Finnish Whaling Company, which led to the receiving of its Royal Charter on December 13, 1850. Aside from the advantages that were to be derived from the whaling itself, this undertaking is of uttermost importance to the Russian-American Company in that it increases its alliance with the colonies and that, without further cost to the Company, it protects it against the encroachment of foreign whalers.

The first of these whaling expeditions to be outfitted in Abo sailed from there on July 22, 1851, and after going to Bremen, to obtain necessary apparatus and to take aboard an experienced harpooner, started for New Archangel where the chief administrator of the colonies will designate the locality in which the operations are to begin.

Attached to the report of the Russian-American Company for 1849 was a Mercator chart of the west coast of Sitka between the Cape of Ommaney[18] and the Sound of Klokachef.[19] Attached to the one for this year is a Mercator chart containing the newest observations on Bering Strait and the adjacent polar sea, together with pictures of different islands and coastal points. The course of the English ships sent in search of Franklin is also designated.

NOTES

1. Rotchev is also spelled Rotchef. Russian names end in "f," "ff," "of," "eff," or "v" according to the system of translation into English.

2. E. O. Essig, *The Russians in California.* (California Historical Society, Special Publication No. 7, San Francisco, 1933.)

3. James Peter Zollinger, *Sutter, The Man and His Empire* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1939).

4. Daniel Henderson, *From the Volga to the Yukon* (New York: Hastings House, 1944).

5. Duflot de Mofras, *Travels on the Pacific Coast.* Translated and annotated by Marguerite Eyer Wilbur (Santa Ana, California: The Fine Arts Press, 1937). Two volumes.

6. Hubert Howe Bancroft, Vol. XXI, History of California (San Francisco: A. L. Bancroft & Co., 1886), Vol. IV, p. 164.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 173.

8. E. O. Essig, *op. cit.* Footnote No. 30.

9*. The author of these reports Nos. 111 and 112 of the Sjewernaja Ptschela of this year is Mr. Rotchev, a man who has already tried many very different careers. In his youth he was interested in literature and translated Schiller's *William Tell* and Shakespeare's *Macbeth* into Russian. Following this he entered the service of the Russian-American Company and for a time was Commandant of the colony of Ross, where the famous traveler, Duflot de Mofras, visited him (see these Archives VI, 423). During his several years' stay he became well acquainted with the affairs of California. The original discoverer of the California gold-bearing sands, Captain Sutter, was in Ross as a guest of Mr. Rotchev before he founded his settlement of New Helvetia. When he returned to Russia, fortune apparently failed to smile upon Mr. Rotchev, as he decided to try again in gold-abundant California, where, however, he arrived too late to recover that which previously he might have obtained with little effort.

D. Uebers

[Footnotes with * following the number are footnotes in the original German manuscript.]

10*. This adventure sounds so romantic that we could almost believe Mr. Rotchev only dreamed it or that it was a reminiscence of the poetic fantasia of his youth. In all the reports of English or American travelers of the journey from Chagres to Panama, we, at least, have not come across a similar statement. We further remark here that in the original it is a tiger that is mentioned, although it must have been the jaguar that was meant, as this animal is known to resemble the tiger of the Old World in strength and ferocity.

D. Uebers

11. I am greatly indebted to Edward L. Keithahn, Librarian and curator of the Territory of Alaska Historical Library and Museum for the correct spelling and identification of some of the places mentioned in the report.

12. Translated as Northern Bee.

13. Now Chugach. Refers to the group of islands near the east entrance of Cook Inlet; and the mountain range from Kenai Peninsula eastward on the north coast of Prince William Sound beyond Copper River. Also refers to the natives of the district, who were not Aleut or Eskimo but a branch of the Athabascans of the interior.

14. This is the most westerly of the Trinity Islands which lie S.W. of Kodiak. The name means "moon," that is "month."

15. In the text this is spelled Kadjak. According to Keithahn, the Russians spelled this Kadiak, the German equivalent being Kodjak. It was formerly called Kadisk but at the present time is designated as Kodiak.

16. Ukamok is the early rendition of the native name Chirikof. The island is supposed to have taken its name from the Aleut name for "marmot."

17. Unga District refers to the Shumagin group of which Unga is the largest island.

18. This is the cape at the south end of Baranof Island, named by Colnett in 1789.

19. Now called Salisbury Sound; it is a little north of Sitka at the west end of Peril Straits.

Salt for the Scraping

Origin of the San Francisco Bay Salt Industry

By Alan K. Brown

W. E. Ver Planck's excellent monograph *Salt in California*[1] may well serve as a reminder of the extraordinary sense in which the local salt industry can be called local. Here and there on the Alameda County shore the modern systems of evaporating ponds keep traces of the outlines of the small ponds worked by the Bay boatmen right after the Gold Rush. It is more remarkable that the development of the industry's techniques is traced with equal certitude from these same local beginnings, when the crude "Bay salt"[2] was almost to be had "for the scraping."[3]

Ver Planck dates the commercial growth of the industry from 1856;[4] but many of the basic refinements in the method of production did not come in until toward 1870. Cronise's description of the industry as it was practised in the middle '60's has a fairly primitive ring:

> The chief occupation of the inhabitants [of Alvarado] is the collection of salt, which forms in large quantities on the land overflowed by the waters of the bay. ... The whole of it is collected and purified by solar evaporation. The salt-water is retained ... during high tides, and evaporated in shallow ponds ranging in size from twenty to five hundred acres.[5]

The 1882 State Mineralogist's report still has the best account of the far-off beginnings of salt production:

> In 1848-49, on the shores of San Francisco Bay, Native Californians gathered solar salt from natural reservoirs, which at high tide overflowed. The salt accumulated in these basins until it had formed a deposit of eight inches or more. When the natural deposit became exhausted, advantage was taken of the lesson taught by nature, and salt works of the crudest form were commenced, which led to the present extensive works.[6]

A later account (quoted by Ver Planck) adds to this that the natural tide pools were overflowed by the high night tides of the early summer, to evaporate over the following months.[7]

These "natural reservoirs" or "tide pools" in the sloughs are what have been hereabouts called hot-ponds. These are in effect shallow mud-floored gaps in the salt-marsh vegetation, almost never connecting directly with a slough, and classically arranged in a chain along the edge of the hard ground. Such ponds can be filled only by a tide that rises over the level of the marsh, and are emptied only by evaporation; under the constant late-summer winds, they were natural salt-pans. Duflot de Mofras, traveling between Santa Clara and San Francisco in 1842, remarked "at the roadside large dried lake-beds covered with salty crusts that, from a distance, shine in the sun like enormous snow-fields."[8]

The origin of the hot-ponds is not entirely obvious. One might imagine an undrained depression in the primal mud-flat, through evaporation too saline even for the salt-grass *(Spartina foliosa)* that carries the edge of the marsh out onto the flats.[9] But in many places ponds took up most of the surface of the marsh between sloughs. The salt industry started just where it did because there was a square mile of uninterrupted hot-pond just north of the present eastern approach to the San Mateo Bridge.[10]

There are not many hot-ponds left. This is partly because there is not much left of the sloughs: the salt industry has grown by destroying the conditions of its origin. Also, the bay marsh went through an extensive cycle of building-out and filling-in during the last half of the nineteenth century (and perhaps earlier, if a comparison of Beechey's 1827 chart[11] with the Coast Survey's can be trusted). Indeed, the silting up of the natural ponds may have been one reason the first artificial ponds were built. As late as 1871, the latter were considered far inferior to the natural hot-ponds.[12]

It is difficult to assign a definite beginning-point to the growth of the modern salt industry. How far back can the date of the production of bay salt be pushed?

Confirmation of the reported pre-Gold Rush production comes from the diary of Chester S. Lyman. At San Mateo in late July 1847, "part [of the marsh] is covered with salt, which is gathered for use as we saw little heaps of it in the vicinity of the pools."[13] In the decades before the Gold Rush the valley just south of present Hunter's Point was named *las Salinas* (the Salines, the Salt-pans);[14] the same name was given to what is now the Broadway district in Burlingame, where a narrow arm of marsh and hot-pond ran a little way into the hard ground;[15] and a small creek in present Redwood City was the *Arroyo de las Salinas.*[16]

We have the authority of Jedediah Smith for the use of bay salt by the missions, in 1827:

> From the S. E. extremity of the bay extends a considerable Salt Marsh from which great quantities of salt are annually collected and the quantity might perhaps be much increased. It belongs to the Mission of St. Jose.[17]

This last may introduce a quotation that takes the history of the salt industry back to its earliest origins. Sergeant Hermenegildo Sal and Father José Dantí, exploring the still-heathen east side of the bay in late 1795, followed the shore south from San Leandro Bay and

> ... came upon a pond that no doubt is the saline, the Sergeant says it is like the one at Monterrey (not having seen it myself), the natives tell us there are no salines but the ones in the sloughs, it is the same Salt that is gathered at San Mateo and San Francisquito.[18]

NOTES

1. William E. Ver Planck, *Salt in California* (State Division of Mines Bulletin 175, San Francisco, 1958). Especially Chapter 6, pp. 106-119, "History of the California Salt Industry."

2. John S. Hittell, *The Commerce and Industries of the Pacific Coast of North America* (San Francisco, 1882), p. 571.

3. William Halley, *The Centennial Yearbook of Alameda County, California* (Oakland, 1876), p. 103.

4. *Op. cit.*, p. 107. But see note 6 below.

5. Titus Fey Cronise, *The Natural Wealth of California* (San Francisco, 1868), p. 153.

6. *Second Report of the State Mineralogist of California* (Sacramento, 1882), p. 218. A valuable article by Judson Farley, "Salt-making in Alameda," *Overland Monthly*, vol. 6 (February, 1871), pp. 105-112, has perhaps the earliest account:

> Prior to the year 1852, the salt business was only that of salt-gathering. It was then customary for many people in the adjacent regions to come with their wagons for the year's supply, during the inclusive months from August to October. They had no regular place of gathering, but took any field unoccupied ... The people mostly engaged in the business at this time were the native Californians.
>
> About the year 1852, a few Americans, owing to the high price of salt in the San Francisco market ... resorted to the Mexican salt-grounds, and, with little or no show of right to do so, established themselves in the business of salt-making. They worked leisurely; earned money, but not very rapidly; made few improvements, and these of minor importance, and were in reality salt-gatherers, instead of salt-makers.

7. *Eighteenth Annual Report of the U. S. Geological Survey* (Washington, 1897), Part 5, Vol. 2, p. 1312.

8. Eugène Duflot de Mofras, *Exploration du territoire de l'Orégon, des Californies et de la mer Vermeille* (Paris, 1844), vol. 1, p. 423.

9. Clemente Espinosa (in Apuntes breves y notas históricas, Bancroft Library MS, 1878) describes at length how the local Indians cooked a kind of salt out of this grass (cf. R. F. Heizer's chapter, "Salt in California Indian Culture," in Ver Planck, *op. cit.*, p. 104).

10. John Johnson, who is said to have been the first to enclose his salt pond with a levee (about 1857), took up 73 acres here under a swamp-land survey in 1856; Christian F. F. Beck claimed much of the rest at the same time (Alameda County Recorder's Office, Deeds E: 366, 379).

11. Number 19 in Neal Harlow, *The Maps of San Francisco Bay ...* (San Francisco, The Book Club of California, 1950).

12. Farley, *loc. cit.* (note 6 above).

13. Lyman's manuscript diary (in the collection of the California Historical Society) 11:79. This was one of the passages deleted in *Around the Horn to the Sandwich Islands and California* (ed. F. J. Teggart, New Haven and London, 1924). Dr. Frank M. Stanger has called my attention to the fact that ten *fanegas* of salt, obviously of local manufacture, were stored in the San Mateo Mission ranch building in 1835 (" 'The Hospice' or 'Mission San Mateo'," this *Quarterly*, vol. 23, no. 3 (September, 1944), p. 256, note 4).

14. *Cañada de las Salinas*, National Archives, California Board of Land Commissioners, Complete Expediente 1, 1834; *las Salinas*, Complete Expediente 177, 1839. The form *Rincón de las Salinas*, though official, is dubious.

15. F. W. Beechey, *Narrative of a Voyage to the Pacific ...* (London, 1831), vol. 2, p. 43; Taylor Collection in the Chancery Office of the Archdiocese of San Francisco, number 2048, (1828); and numerous later records.

16. San Mateo County Clerk's Office, Road Accounts file, 1-54 (1850).

17. Maurice S. Sullivan, *The Travels of Jedediah Smith ...* (Santa Ana, Fine Arts Press, 1934), p. 52. The Mission's *salina* was perhaps the one shown on a *diseño* of the early 1840's as near the Mission landing, at present Alvarado just south of the creek. (U. S. District Court Clerk's Office, San Francisco, Land Case 119 ND, map 258.) Mr. Alden Oliver, of the family that for over eighty years has furnished most of the published information on the early salt industry, has recollected hearing that local Indians gathered salt hereabouts for the San José Mission (Oakland *Tribune*, December 31, 1956).

18. Dantí's journal in the Bancroft Library extract of the Santa Barbara Mission archives, vol. 1, p. 34. The *salina* at Monterey has of course given us the present Salinas, and San Francisquito is present Palo Alto. Sal's journal adds that the hot-pond "did not hold any Salt at present; from which I conclude, that these must be Salines like those at San Mateo, where the Salt gathers [only?] in dry years." (Santa Barbara Mission archives, vol. 4, p. 198.)

California's Role in the Nomination of Franklin D. Roosevelt

By Russell M. Posner

In 1932, California played an important but paradoxical role in the selection of a Democratic Presidential candidate. Franklin D. Roosevelt, seeking the Democratic nomination, entered the California presidential primary with the backing of the regular party organization. Despite this support, he suffered a humiliating and unexpected defeat at the primary polls; a blow that injured his chances for the Presidency. Yet the state delegation, pledged to another candidate, swung dramatically to Roosevelt at the Convention, giving him the much-coveted nomination. Two prominent Californians—William Randolph Hearst and William Gibbs McAdoo,[1] neither enthusiastic about Roosevelt, were key figures in the events leading to the Roosevelt victory at the Convention.

Democratic hopes were very high for a presidential victory in the spring of 1932. The Great Depression was in its third year and the end was nowhere in sight. The ruling Republican party was discouraged and demoralized. Sensing an easy triumph, a number of Democrats were actively seeking the nomination. The leading contender was the fifty-year-old Governor of New York, Franklin Delano Roosevelt. Possessor of a famous name and an attractive personality, Roosevelt had twice been elected governor, the second time by a margin of more than 700,000 votes. As the chief executive of the nation's most populous state, Roosevelt was a natural candidate. His astute political manager, James A. Farley, early began to round up delegates and pledges for the coming Convention. Roosevelt's faithful lieutenant, Louis Howe, conducted a vast nation-wide correspondence with political leaders on behalf of his chief. Also in the running was Alfred E. Smith, former governor of New York and the 1928 Democratic standard bearer. Smith wanted to avenge his defeat, four years earlier, and had considerable support among Democratic city leaders in the East. He resented bitterly the fact that Roosevelt, his former protege, was now occupying the position of the leading candidate. A third aspirant was the Speaker of the House of Representatives, John Nance Garner, a conservative Democrat from Texas. There were also a host of "favorite sons" who held only their own state delegations.

It appeared early that Roosevelt had a commanding lead in delegate strength, but lacked the necessary two-thirds majority for the nomination. So his supporters entered Roosevelt's name in a number of state primaries for the sake of prestige and in order to build up his delegate strength. Out of 17 state primaries, Roosevelt participated in 14. In seven states (North Dakota, Georgia, South Dakota, Nebraska, West Virginia, Oregon, and Florida), he was unopposed or won over nominal opposition. He was victorious over Smith in four states (New Hampshire, Wisconsin, and Alabama by wide margins and had a very narrow victory in Pennsylvania where the delegation was split between the two men). Smith defeated Roosevelt in two states, Massachusetts and New York. In the latter state, Tammany Hall helped to obtain a majority of the delegates for the Happy Warrior. Smith also won New Jersey in an uncontested primary, while in Ohio and Illinois, the delegations went without opposition to favorite sons. The last major state primary was California. This primary held particular interest because it was the final important test of strength and the only one in which all three major candidates (Roosevelt, Smith, and Garner) were entered.

The Roosevelt forces were active in California long before the date of the primary. All major offices in California were held by Republicans so there were no favorite sons to confront in the Golden State. Louis Howe, Roosevelt's tireless aide, maintained a close correspondence with Democratic leaders and kept a file of persons who might be helpful on the state scene. An example of Howe's methodical attention to detail was a personal memo to Roosevelt in February 1931, pointing out that Reverend William John Sherman of the Temple Methodist Church in San Francisco was reported as friendly to the New York Governor.[2] Local Roosevelt-for-President Clubs began to spring up in the early part of 1931, in some cases organized by people unknown to the wily Howe. One ardent club promoter was a Los Angeles attorney, Patrick J. Cooney, who claimed to have Roosevelt's blessing. Howe wrote angrily to Basil O'Connor: "We are trying to find out who this guy Cooney is . . . Mr. Cooney's activities are somewhat mysterious and we do not want him to upset any applecarts, particularly as Franklin swears he never heard of the man."[3] Eventually Cooney was brought into line and the club movement continued to spread.

On the 10th and 11th of July, 1931, James A. Farley visited San Francisco in the course of a swing around the nation for Roosevelt. He reported back to Howe that he had met a delegation of local Democratic leaders, headed by Justus Wardell of San Francisco and Isidore Dockweiler of Los Angeles. Wardell was the Chairman of the State Executive Committee, while Dockweiler was the National Committeeman from California. These men told Farley they were for Roosevelt and that there was no sentiment for any other candidate in the state. Farley was doubtful of this; "I think this is almost too much to hope for." Farley told Howe that on his California trip he had found strong sentiment for Al Smith," more so than any other state in which I have travelled."[4]

Following this conference with Farley, Justus Wardell took command of the Roosevelt campaign in northern California, while Isidore Dockweiler assumed control of the Roosevelt forces in southern California. Wardell and Dockweiler headed the regular Democratic organization in the state and soon began organizing efficiently for Roosevelt on the county and local level. By November 1931, Wardell wrote confidently to the New York Governor: "I am convinced we won't even have a contest, but if we do, the result will be so overwhelmingly in our favor it will indicate most impressively what the sentiment is among the Democrats of the state."[5] At the end of the year 1931, it appeared that Wardell was right, that Roosevelt would win by default. But early in 1932 an opposition ticket rapidly developed as a result of three factors: William Randolph Hearst's political attitude, William G. McAdoo's personal ambition, and the desire of a group of dissident Democrats to overthrow the Wardell-Dockweiler leadership.

Although W. R. Hearst at 69 had given up his ambition to hold public office, he still desired to influence Democratic politics by means of his personal endorsements. On January 2, 1932, in a national radio broadcast, Hearst came out for John Nance Garner for President. Hearst's main fear was that an internationalist favoring America's participation in the League of Nations and the World Court would get the nomination. Roosevelt, as a former aide to Wilson, was suspect to Hearst, although Roosevelt had come out rather reluctantly early in 1932 against the U. S. joining the League of Nations as then constituted. Garner, however, was viewed by Hearst as being vigorously opposed to any "foreign entanglements" as well as being conservative in domestic policies. Hearst in his radio address called Garner "the nation's great hope, a plain man of the plain people, a sound and sincere Democrat, in fact, another Champ Clark."[8] The California publisher followed up this speech by running daily installments of a biography of Garner in all his California newspapers, beginning on February 21, 1932. Later the articles were collected and published in a little booklet entitled *The Speaker of the House.* This pamphlet was distributed all over California to acquaint people with the life of Garner. Thus the powerful support of Hearst was ready to be thrown behind any ambitious politician who was willing to back a Garner candidacy.

Such a man was William Gibbs McAdoo who ironically was the son-in-law of a man who had been anathema to Hearst, Woodrow Wilson. McAdoo, Southern born, was for many years a lawyer and businessman in New York. He entered politics in 1912 at the age of 49 by serving as a delegate to the Democratic Convention that nominated Wilson and later that year as Acting Chairman of the Democratic National Committee. In 1913 he became Secretary of the Treasury and held that office with distinction for six years, including the difficult period of World War I when he was also Director General of the Railroads. In both 1920 and 1924, he was a leading but unsuccessful candidate for the Democratic presidential nomination. At the marathon convention of 1924, McAdoo led for more than 80 ballots before losing to John W. Davis on the 103rd ballot. In 1922, McAdoo moved to Los Angeles, California, where he practiced law with several partners and engaged in various business ventures for the next decade.

At the start of 1932, McAdoo, active and vigorous at 69, was anxious to return to politics. His law practice had suffered severely as a result of the depression. McAdoo wrote his old friend Bernard M. Baruch: "Business is simply nil out here. As for the law, we work our heads off and can collect nothing for it. Everybody seems busted and we simply have to carry them along. It makes it very tough for me and all of us."[7]

One political possibility for McAdoo was to campaign for the U. S. Senate seat coming up in the 1932 election. McAdoo felt that he still had a considerable political following in California. He wrote a friend in February 1932: "I haven't made up my mind about the Senatorial race here. Nearly everybody seems to think I could win if I run."[8] McAdoo confided in George Creel: "really I am not tempted although I think I could be elected."[9] In addition, many political leaders in California felt that McAdoo still had vice-presidential or even presidential hopes, as a possible dark horse candidate, in the event of a deadlocked convention. Publicly, McAdoo disclaimed such rumors and refused to permit his name to be entered in any state presidential primary.[10] Privately, in his correspondence, McAdoo still cherished some presidential ambitions. He wrote to a college classmate: "I can see no reason and I say this confidentially why you shouldn't arouse interest among our old University of Tennessee boys and elsewhere in the suggestions you make about my availability although I am in no sense a candidate and will not seek the Presidency."[11] To another close friend, McAdoo wrote that he would consider running as an independent candidate for President if "the necessary finances could be had."[12]

At the beginning of 1932, McAdoo viewed the three major Democratic presidential possibilities with either disdain or indifference. Al Smith had been a bitter political rival for the Democratic nomination and was the major factor in the defeat of McAdoo at the 1924 Convention. McAdoo never forgave Smith for his opposition. McAdoo also disliked Roosevelt whom he associated with Tammany Hall, Al Smith, and the advocacy of repeal of the 18th Amendment. McAdoo was an ardent prohibitionist and said that the nomination of either Smith or Roosevelt "would be tragic for the Party."[13] He thought Roosevelt was a mental lightweight, full of "cheap platitudes and generalities" and physically not capable of undertaking presidential duties. McAdoo said in 1932 "I can't think of Roosevelt as being equal in ability to the demands the White House must make on its occupant in the next four years."[14] Lastly, McAdoo was indifferent towards Garner and did not think he had any real chance of victory. McAdoo's first reaction to Hearst's speech endorsing Garner was negative. He wrote: "I think it was a marplot speech. I don't know whether Garner takes it seriously or not."[15]

Within a month after the Hearst speech, McAdoo changed his opinion about Garner as he came to realize the value of the approval of the Hearst newspapers. To stage a political comeback, McAdoo needed press support and control of the Democratic party machinery in the state. The organization of a Garner ticket would insure the newspaper backing and the victory of that ticket would overthrow the existing Wardell-Dockweiler leadership. The victorious ticket would name the national committeeman and the national committeewoman, as well as other officers. By the middle of February 1932, McAdoo had come out enthusiastically for Garner. Hearst, extremely pleased, wrote to McAdoo: "The more I read your statement about Garner, the more I like it."[16]

McAdoo was soon joined in the Garner camp by a group of Democratic politicians who resented the control of the party in California by Wardell and Dockweiler. They were particularly angered at the way Wardell and his associates were handpicking the district delegates on the Roosevelt ticket at closed party meetings.[17] Numbered among the dissatisfied Democrats were some prominent party members including Mrs. Nellie Donohoe, the National Committeewoman; Zachary T. Malaby, the State Chairman; and Henry H. McPike, the former State Chairman. At first these disgruntled Democrats, feeling Garner had no chance, wanted to run a separate Roosevelt slate but McAdoo felt two Roosevelt tickets to be ridiculous and the idea was dropped.[18] It was also suggested that a composite ticket, one-third for Roosevelt, one-third for Garner and one-third for Smith be sent to the Convention, but the Roosevelt leadership rejected this proposal.[19] By the end of February, the dissident Democrats were safely united behind the Hearst-McAdoo-Garner alliance. Also in February, supporters of Al

Smith entered a ticket in favor of the Happy Warrior, consisting largely of party unknowns. Thus a fierce three way struggle opened for control of the Democratic organization in California.

The McAdoo-Hearst alliance was a strange one. McAdoo was a fanatic dry, Hearst advocated repeal. Hearst had bitterly opposed Woodrow Wilson, McAdoo's father-in-law. Indeed, the Hearst press, long after Wilson's death, continued to denounce Wilsonian ideals. During the 1932 primary fight, one of the Garner leaders, John B. Elliot, finally had to write to the editor of Hearst's *Los Angeles Examiner*, asking him to avoid pointed criticism of Wilson during the campaign. "The Democratic party of California is to a great extent a Woodrow Wilson party." Elliot also asked the Hearst press to soften its attacks on prohibition since the Garner forces were trying to win dry votes. "One of our greatest appeals is to the Democrats who are dry. I am only counselling a considerable degree of caution . . . I am not trying to run your great newspaper for you."[20] Despite this friction, Hearst and McAdoo were able to unite effectively behind the Garner candidacy. Hearst wrote to Elliot: "Our papers are very friendly to you and Mr. McAdoo."[21] In jest, Hearst even wrote to McAdoo: "Did you notice in my tax address on the radio Friday night how respectfully I spoke of your papa-in-law? That goes to show what a beneficial effect association with you has on me!"[22]

During the campaign, McAdoo headed the Garner ticket, while his close friend John B. Elliot was placed in charge of the activities in southern California. Henry H. McPike headed the Garner drive in northern California. The Garner campaign was well organized and vigorous. The Speaker's ticket appealed particularly to conservative and prohibitionist elements in the Democratic party. In southern California, where the conservative dry forces were strong and McAdoo was popular, there was a great growth of McAdoo-Garner clubs. The Texas State Society of California, 100,000 Californians of Texan descent, came out strong for Garner. In southern California, there were nightly radio programs for Garner and a widespread distribution of Garner pamphlets. So much publicity for Garner appeared in the Hearst press in southern California that one Roosevelt backer was led to comment: "Hearst gives almost as much space daily to Garner as he gives to the Lindbergh baby [kidnapping] or the Japan-China War."[23]

In northern California, Democrats tended to be liberal and wet, rather than conservative and dry. Despite this handicap, the Garner forces made a strenuous effort to carry the region. A news agency was set up in San Francisco to furnish 200 newspapers with Garner publicity. Circulars and letters were sent out to registered voters and speakers were dispatched to northern California towns. A Garner newsreel was even prepared for Bay Area theaters. It consisted of a two minute interview with four Garner delegates who told in one sentence each why they were for the Texan! The most difficult areas for the Garner forces were the cities and towns of the Sacramento and San Joaquin Valleys where Wardell and Dockweiler had such a firm control over the party machinery that it was almost impossible to organize committees or hold rallies for Garner.

McAdoo personally campaigned all over California by air, travelling in his own private plane, a method rather new in 1932. McAdoo played up Smith and Roosevelt as the "Tammany candidates from New York." Garner was portrayed as a "plain, homespun man," not a friend of "Wall Street and Big Business" like the two New York candidates. McAdoo said Garner was a man of "brains, courage, integrity and freedom from . . . sordid and selfish influences."[24]

The Garner campaign was relatively well financed, despite the depression. But as election day approached, the expenses of an aggressive contest brought about some financial difficulties, particularly in northern California. In answer to fervent appeals from San Francisco for funds in the closing days of the campaign, McAdoo replied: "I wish I could help you out on the money end, but we are just scraping the bottom of the till here with my obligations to meet."[25]

At the beginning of the campaign, the Roosevelt leaders were not too worried. They felt that they had a big edge in voter support. Farley, after talking with Wardell by telephone, confidently reported to Roosevelt: "I don't think we have anything to worry about here."[26] Soon the confidence turned to active concern. Wardell and Dockweiler, fearing defeat and loss of power, called on the New York headquarters to send out vast quantities of Roosevelt material, including pamphlets, buttons, and auto stickers. The Roosevelt supporters were

William Gibbs McAdoo
Courtesy of San Francisco Chronicle

desperately short of funds. Dockweiler reported that he needed at least $25,000—money which was not forthcoming.[27] Wardell finally persuaded James Roosevelt to fly to California and stump the state for his father. Also, Senator Burton K. Wheeler of Montana, in answer to Wardell's appeals, came to California to make campaign speeches. Wheeler and other Roosevelt speakers emphasized their candidate's liberal record, while accusing Garner of being ultra-conservative, particularly in labor legislation.

Lack of newspaper support hurt the Roosevelt cause, although the Scripps-Howard papers came out for him in April. The *San Francisco News* referred editorially to the Garner candidacy as "the unnatural child of Hearst ballyhoo."[28] The McClatchy newspapers in Modesto, Fresno, and Sacramento endorsed Roosevelt.

The most critical area for Roosevelt was Los Angeles where there was little newspaper support and virtually no money for radio programs and publicity. Many Roosevelt supporters complained that there was a blackout of news about the Roosevelt campaign in the Los Angeles press. Senator Wheeler, on his speaking tour for Roosevelt, told his Los Angeles hosts that he "could never have found out where he was by reading the newspapers!"[29]

The Smith campaign, unlike the other two, was handicapped by lack of experienced leadership and effective organization. The Smith forces made their appeal to urban Catholic voters, particularly in the Bay Area. Both Smith and Roosevelt sought liberal and wet votes, which raised the threat that Smith would cut sufficiently into Roosevelt's supposed lead to give Garner the victory. The Smith leaders in their slogans showed a keen sense of humor. Noting that Roosevelt, although personally favorable to repeal, was straddling the prohibition issue, the Smith adherents circularized the voters with the slogan: "If you are wet, vote for Smith; if you are dry, vote for Garner; if you don't know what you are, vote for Roosevelt!"[30]

On the eve of voting, the Roosevelt leaders were somewhat worried but they expected to win. Privately they hoped for a margin of at least 50,000 over Garner. Betting in San Francisco installed Roosevelt as a two to one favorite. It was even money that the New York Governor would poll more votes than his two opponents combined. Farley wrote that victory in California would just about cinch a first ballot nomination for Roosevelt.[31]

On May 3, 1932, some 538,910 Democrats voted in the primary. This was 63.6% of the 847,264 registered Democrats in the state. The Garner ticket won by 47,377 votes. McAdoo, heading the list of Garner delegates, received 222,385 votes. Wardell, leading the list of Roosevelt delegates received 175,008 votes, while Smith's chief delegate came in a strong third with 141,517 votes. Actually, Garner won the election in Los Angeles county. There, in the dry stronghold, he overwhelmed Roosevelt with a total of 126,131 votes to only 46,831 for the New York Governor. Smith received 58,743 votes in Los Angeles. Garner's margin of 79,300 votes in Los Angeles county overcame Roosevelt's statewide plurality (outside Los Angeles) of 31,923 votes.

Roosevelt, in strange contrast to his later national campaigns, did best in the rural districts. Out of 58 counties in the state, he carried 35, including most of the inland farming areas. Garner carried 17 counties, including 8 out of the 10 counties in southern California. One county was divided evenly between Garner and Roosevelt, while five counties, all in the Bay Area, voted for Smith. Smith's biggest victory was in San Francisco, where he received more votes than Garner and Roosevelt combined. The Happy Warrior got 30,221 votes as against 18,072 for Roosevelt and only 11,076 for Garner.

The national directors of the Roosevelt movement were surprised by the unexpected defeat. Governor Roosevelt in Warm Springs, Georgia, refused to comment to the press, but his aides were frankly discouraged. The setback plus the psychological effect on other delegations practically eliminated Roosevelt's chances for a first ballot victory. Roosevelt still had a long lead in delegate strength but the outcome of the race was increasingly in doubt. Farley wrote in a gloomy mood to a friend: "We were terribly disappointed to be frank with you over the results in California because all the information we had indicated we would win . . . We are just not going to have 44 votes we counted on."[32]

The Roosevelt leaders in California blamed the defeat on Hearst publicity, over-confidence, lack of money, lack of newspaper support, and above all the split in the liberal vote between Smith and Roosevelt. One spokesman said "Smith gummed the works," another, "Smith destroyed us." It was pointed out that the combined Roosevelt and Smith vote exceeded Garner's total vote by a margin of 94,140. In a straight two-man race between Garner and Roosevelt, many felt that Roosevelt would have won. Dockweiler commented wryly: "It took the combined efforts of William Randolph Hearst, William Gibbs McAdoo . . . and Alfred E. Smith to win over us."[33] Franklin Roosevelt himself wrote to his state leaders commending them for their efforts and told them "to do some quiet scouting to see whether his [Garner's] crowd, if and when released, will come our way or sell out."[34]

The Garner supporters were overjoyed at their sensational upset victory over the regular organization. The Speaker's triumph lifted him from the category of a favorite son of Texas to that of a serious contender. The victory also placed McAdoo, an uncompromising dry, at the head of a party that was predominantly wet in sentiment. One immediate result of the election was the ousting of Dockweiler as a national committeeman. In June, McAdoo himself assumed the position. Also in June, McAdoo, with the primary success behind him, announced that he was a candidate for the U. S. Senate. He wrote cheerfully to a senatorial friend: "Here I am in politics again. I thought I had more sense, but I . . . haven't."[35]

On June 25, 1932, 48 Garner delegates from California arrived in Chicago for a convention that would probably select the next president. Forty of the delegates had one vote each, eight had one-half vote each. The delegates were pledged to vote as a unit for Garner unless he released them or unless a majority of the delegation voted to change the rules and vote as individuals. To the press, McAdoo, as chairman of the delegation, expressed complete confidence in a Garner triumph. Privately he confessed to a friend, Judge Denman: "It was a grand victory we won in California and I hope that Garner may win at Chicago, but who in the hell can tell where anything or anybody is going these days."[36] McAdoo wrote to Bernard Baruch: "There is no telling what the outcome of the convention is going to be."[37] If McAdoo had any secret hopes for the presidency, he kept them strictly to himself.

At the start of the Chicago Convention, Roosevelt had a clear majority of the delegates, but lacked about 100 votes for the nomination under the century-old two-thirds rule. Opposed to him was a determined but unstable bloc of delegates backing Smith, Garner, and various favorite sons. The great weakness of the opposition was that their votes were split so many ways and they seemingly could not unite behind a single candidate.

Events reached their climax in a hectic all-night session (June 30-July 1). After many hours of nominating speeches, the Roosevelt managers forced a vote for the presidential nomination at 4:28 a.m., hoping to stampede the weary convention. The first ballot gave Roosevelt 666¼ votes, just 103 short of nomination. Smith had 201¾, Garner 90¼, while the favorite sons and all others tallied 195¾. At the end of the ballot, Farley confidently expected some state delegations to change their votes to Roosevelt and thus provide the needed margin for victory. To Farley's intense disappointment, no one moved and the second ballot was soon under way. Farley very cleverly held a few votes back in order to give the impression of Roosevelt gaining strength on each ballot. The second count gave Roosevelt 677¾, an increase of 11½ votes. Smith dropped to 194¼, Garner remained steady at 90¼, while favorite sons plus scattering votes totaled 186¼. The anti-Roosevelt forces, convinced they had the New York Governor on the run, compelled the calling of a third ballot, although Farley now wanted to adjourn. Once more the sleepy delegates answered the roll call. This time Farley threw every reserve vote he had into the Roosevelt column. Roosevelt painfully inched up five votes to reach 682.79, still 87 short of nomination. Smith dropped again to 190¼, Garner went up to 101¼, while all others received 177.21 votes. At 9:15 a.m., the exhausted delegates adjourned on a motion from McAdoo, until 8:30 that evening. The stalemate was complete. The Roosevelt lines had not broken nor had the anti-Roosevelt allies given ground.

The next eleven hours were decisive. The anti-Roosevelt forces vigorously tried to detach a number of Roosevelt states that were held under the unit rule. Several of these states wavered, and one, Mississippi, actually broke away from the Roosevelt column during the day.

Meanwhile, Farley and Louis Howe desperately tried to save the situation for Governor Roosevelt. They decided that the Smith delegates were committed to the bitter end and that the favorite sons were hanging on grimly in the hopes of a "dark horse" nomination. This left Garner's Texas and California delegations as the best, and perhaps the only chance for ultimate victory.

Roosevelt's convention floor leader, Arthur Mullen, contacted Tom Connally of Texas and offered Garner the vice-presidency if he would swing over to Roosevelt. Connally promised he would consult Garner about the offer.[38] At the same time, Farley talked to Garner's chief lieutenant, Sam Rayburn of Texas, about a switch. Rayburn said he would see what he could do.[39]

The California delegation was under particularly heavy pressure. Before the convention one political observer had estimated that at least one-third, if not a majority, of the California delegates would go to Roosevelt if released.[40] Daniel Roper, later Roosevelt's Secretary of Commerce, and Robert W. Woolley, Director of the Mint under President Wilson, met with McAdoo. Roper held out to McAdoo an offer of control of federal patronage in California plus the possibility of becoming Secretary of State.[41] McAdoo denied interest in any federal position, but agreed to consider the switch. He made no immediate commitment.

At 4 p.m. Farley met with two of McAdoo's closest friends in the California delegation, Tom Storke and Hamilton Cotton. Farley told the two men that he had thrown his full strength into the third ballot and had failed to put it over. He said that a number of states were ready to break away from Roosevelt on the next ballot. This meant a compromise candidate and possible defeat in November. Farley said: "Boys, Roosevelt is lost unless you come to us." According to Tom Storke, Farley became very emotional, "pounding on a chair with his closed fist, tears literally flooding his eyes." The two delegates asked Farley who would control patronage in California if McAdoo switched sides. Farley replied: "Mac, of course. We will recognize him in everything." Finally, to Farley's great relief, Storke and Cotton promised to try and persuade McAdoo to go over to Roosevelt.[42]

Storke and Cotton saw McAdoo after the conference with Farley.

McAdoo listened to them, but still hesitated. Perhaps he was unwilling to give up his presidential hopes. Finally, he agreed to call a caucus of the California delegation at 7 p.m.[43]

Meanwhile, important events were taking place in California and in Washington, D. C. Hearst, at his home in San Simeon, became convinced after the third ballot that Garner didn't stand a chance; that if the convention continued, a compromise candidate would emerge out of a deadlock. The publisher feared the nomination of an internationalist like the "dark horse" Newton D. Baker, Wilson's Secretary of War. Through his newsman, George Rothwell Brown, Hearst contacted Garner and urged him to release his delegates immediately.[44] To Hearst, Franklin Roosevelt was preferable to Newton D. Baker or some other compromise nominee.

The advice of Hearst apparently only reinforced a decision already reached by Garner. The Speaker was a practical politician and probably believed that he had little real chance for the nomination. If the convention deadlocked, the nomination would most likely go to a compromise candidate, and not to either Smith or Garner. Garner was reluctant to see a prolonged stalemate, leading to the naming of a little-known candidate who might lose the election. He felt that Roosevelt deserved the nod since the New York Governor was the choice of a majority of the convention. In any event, Garner was content to be Speaker of the House. In mid-afternoon, he phoned Rayburn from Washington and told him to "break this thing up" by releasing the delegates. Garner said at the time, "Hell, I'd do anything to see the Democrats win one more national election."[45]

At 7 p.m. the California delegation met in caucus. Accounts differ as to the attitude of McAdoo at this time. McAdoo himself said later that he had decided to swing the delegation to Roosevelt. "It was obvious to me that there was no chance to nominate Garner since Roosevelt had polled within 87 votes of the required two-thirds." McAdoo said he feared a repetition of the deadlocked 1924 Convention with the subsequent defeat of any Democrat nominated. Wilson's son-in-law believed that California, as the fourth state on the roll call of the states, occupied a "dominant strategic position" to start a landslide of votes for Roosevelt. McAdoo stated categorically that he did not know of Garner's release of delegates until he encountered Sam Rayburn on the convention floor, just as the evening session was being called to order.[46]

Sam Rayburn's recollection of events contradicted McAdoo. Rayburn said later that he had met McAdoo just as the California caucus was assembling and he quoted McAdoo as saying: "What are we to do? We will vote for Jack [Garner] until Hell freezes over if he or you say so." Rayburn told McAdoo, according to his account, of the Garner withdrawal and urged him to release the California delegation as he was about to release Texas to Roosevelt.[47]

McAdoo, in correspondence with Rayburn years later, recalled the meeting, but thought it took place earlier in the day. He denied Rayburn's version of the conversation and insisted that he, McAdoo, had urged Rayburn to phone Garner and offer him the vice-presidential nomination since "with Texas and California acting in concert, we could secure it for him if Roosevelt should be nominated."[48]

The California delegates assembled behind locked doors at the Sherman Hotel. McAdoo, without stating a preference, asked for opinions as to what the state should do in the event of a sudden shift or break during voting at the evening session. Some delegates favored going over to Smith; more favored Roosevelt. A large number wanted to stay with Garner for another ballot or two. The meeting became heated as tempers rose along with voices. One delegate from San Diego shook his fist in McAdoo's face and said, "McAdoo, you are attempting to betray us!" McAdoo turned white but remained silent. It was soon obvious from the arguments that the delegation could not unite immediately behind any candidate. Some results had to be achieved, however, since the evening session was about to begin. Finally, to avoid a disastrous split, a steering committee of four (McAdoo, Henry H. McPike, Mrs. Nellie Donohoe, and John B. Elliot) was approved by a majority of the delegates. This committee was to decide on a course of action for the delegation as a whole. The caucus then broke up without any actual vote on candidates. Immediately afterwards, the steering committee members huddled together and decided to go to Roosevelt on the next ballot.[49]

In an adjoining room, the Texas delegation also met in caucus. This group was intensely loyal to Garner. Only 105 out of the 184 man delegation, were present at the caucus; most of the absent members were still trying to win Garner support in other delegations. (The large size of the Texas delegation is explained by the fact that each delegate only had a one-quarter vote.) Rayburn explained Garner's withdrawal to the group and the possibility of Garner taking second place on the national ticket. The delegates refused to accept the withdrawal until Rayburn phoned Garner and got a laconic "yes" to two questions, "Do you authorize me to release the Texas delegation?" and "Do you release the Texas delegation?" Even then the final vote to go to Roosevelt was by the narrow margin of 54 to 51.[50]

At the start of the evening session, McAdoo asked for permission to explain a change in California's vote. Since California was the fourth state from the top of the alphabetical list, McAdoo thus seized the opportunity to get credit for the switch ahead of the Texans. A last-minute appeal was made to McAdoo by the die-hard Amon Carter, head of the Texas delegation, who urged California to stay with Garner until at least the sixth ballot. Carter said that if California would remain with Garner, Texas would, also, because of the closeness of the vote in the Texas caucus. McAdoo rejected this appeal, saying that the decision for Roosevelt had been made and was final.[51]

When California's name was called, McAdoo mounted the platform and stood under the brilliant convention lights. He looked, H. L. Mencken observed, "slim, erect, and graceful," like a "barnstorming Iago of the old school."[52] Probably McAdoo's emotions at the time were mixed. On the one hand, his presidential hopes were forever ended. On the other hand, McAdoo had gained undoubted political advantage in California, plus the joy of revenge against his old enemy, Al Smith.

Despite boos and hisses of derision from the Smith supporters who packed the galleries, McAdoo told his audience: "We didn't come here to deadlock the convention" and after a short, dramatic speech threw California's 44 votes to Roosevelt. (One bitter Smith follower wired McAdoo that evening: "The advancement in 2,000 years has been marvelous. Judas only got 30 pieces of silver.")[53]

Franklin D. Roosevelt, listening to a radio in Albany, relaxed, smiled broadly, and said "Good old McAdoo!"[54] California's vote started a stampede of switches that ended with Roosevelt winning the nomination on the fourth ballot with 945 votes to 190½ for Smith and 13 scattering. The next day Garner, to no one's great surprise, was named by Roosevelt as his vice-presidential running mate.

William G. McAdoo went on to win the Senate seat in California at the November election, but only served one rather unimpressive term. In 1938, enfeebled by illness and age, the 75-year-old Senator was defeated for renomination by a younger Democrat, the pension-advocating Sheridan Downey. McAdoo died three years later in 1941. Long before McAdoo's death, his friends Garner and Hearst had fallen out with New Deal policies. Both men probably came to regret the day they saved the Roosevelt cause.

In later years, many Democrats claimed credit for the switch of delegates to Roosevelt. As Basil O'Connor remarked humorously to Roosevelt: "Of the 56,000 Democrats alleged to have been in Chicago, undoubtedly 62,000 of them arranged the McAdoo shift."[55] It was difficult to deny, however, that the actions of John Nance Garner, in conjunction with several people including a powerful newspaper publisher and a California politician, had altered the course of American history by making possible the era of Franklin Roosevelt and the New Deal.

NOTES

1. This article is based largely on the recently opened William G. McAdoo Papers, Library of Congress, and on the Franklin D. Roosevelt Papers, Hyde Park, New York.

2. Louis Howe Memorandum to F. D. Roosevelt, February 26, 1931, Roosevelt Papers.

3. Louis Howe to Basil O'Connor, April 14, 1931, Roosevelt Papers.

4. James A. Farley Memorandum to Louis Howe, July 11, 1931, Roosevelt Papers.

5. Justus Wardell to F. D. Roosevelt, November 16, 1931, Roosevelt Papers.

6. Edmond D. Coblentz, *William Randolph Hearst: A Portrait in His Own Words* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1952), pp. 127-130.

7. William G. McAdoo to Bernard M. Baruch, March 16, 1932, McAdoo Papers.

8. William G. McAdoo to W. E. Woodward, February 18, 1932, McAdoo Papers.

9. William G. McAdoo to George Creel, March 16, 1932, McAdoo Papers.

10. William G. McAdoo to John P. Everett, re South Dakota primary, February 18, 1932, McAdoo Papers.

11. William G. McAdoo to Richard W. Lewis, January 26, 1932, McAdoo Papers.

12. William G. McAdoo to Bruce Claggett, January 23, 1932, McAdoo Papers.

13. William G. McAdoo to Henry H. McPike, April 18, 1932, McAdoo Papers.

14. William G. McAdoo to George F. Milton, January 19, 1932, McAdoo Papers.

15. William G. McAdoo to George W. Lynn, January 6, 1932, McAdoo Papers.

16. William R. Hearst to William G. McAdoo, February 17, 1932, McAdoo Papers.

17. Henry H. McPike to William G. McAdoo, February 11, 1932; Nellie Donohoe to William G. McAdoo, February 11, 1932, McAdoo Papers.

18. William G. McAdoo to Henry H. McPike, February 15, 1932, McAdoo Papers.

19. Zachary T. Malaby to F. D. Roosevelt, February 17, 1932; Isidore Dockweiler to Louis Howe, February 20, 1932, Roosevelt Papers.

20. John B. Elliot to George Young, March 19, 1932, McAdoo Papers.

21. William R. Hearst to John B. Elliot, April 26, 1932, McAdoo Papers.

22. William R. Hearst to William G. McAdoo, June 7, 1932, McAdoo Papers.

23. Roswell Blake to F. D. Roosevelt, March 9, 1932, Roosevelt Papers.

24. Radio speech of William G. McAdoo, April 11, 1932, McAdoo Papers.

25. William G. McAdoo to Henry H. McPike, April 26, 1932, McAdoo Papers.

26. James A. Farley to F. D. Roosevelt, February 16, 1932, Roosevelt Papers.

27. Isidore Dockweiler to Louis Howe, March 14, 1932, Roosevelt Papers.

28. *San Francisco News*, April 6, 1932.

29. Ralph Eckhardt to Louis Howe, May 7, 1932, Roosevelt Papers.

30. Ernest J. Westerhouse to F. D. Roosevelt, May 6, 1932, Roosevelt Papers.

31. James A. Farley to H. H. Whiting, May 3, 1932, Roosevelt Papers.

32. James A. Farley to George Martin, May 7, 1932, Roosevelt Papers.

33. Isidore Dockweiler to F. D. Roosevelt, May 16, 1932, Roosevelt Papers.

34. F. D. Roosevelt to Justus Wardell, May 5, 1932, Roosevelt Papers.

35. William G. McAdoo to Senator W. A. Smith, July 30, 1932, McAdoo Papers.

36. William G. McAdoo to William Denman, May 6, 1932, McAdoo Papers.

37. William G. McAdoo to Bernard M. Baruch, May 26, 1932, McAdoo Papers.

38. Arthur Mullen, *Western Democrat* (New York: Wilfred Funk, 1940), pp. 275-276.

39. James A. Farley, *Jim Farley's Story: The Roosevelt Years* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1948), p. 23.

40. Marcus M. Lyter to Senator Thomas J. Walsh, June 10, 1932, Thomas Walsh Papers, Library of Congress.

41. Daniel C. Roper, *Fifty Years of Public Life* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1941), p. 259; Robert Woolley's unpublished memoirs "Politics is Hell," Chapter 33, Library of Congress.

42. Thomas M. Storke to William G. McAdoo, May 12, 1934, McAdoo Papers.

43. Thomas M. Storke, *California Editor* (Los Angeles: Westernlore Press, 1958), pp. 318-319.

44. Coblentz, *op. cit.*, pp. 132-133.

45. Bascum Timmons, *Garner of Texas* (New York: Harper, 1948), pp. 165-166.

46. William G. McAdoo to Sam Rayburn, April 28, 1939, McAdoo Papers.

47. Sam Rayburn to William G. McAdoo, March 11, 1939, McAdoo Papers.

48. William G. McAdoo to Sam Rayburn, April 28, 1939, McAdoo Papers.

49. Storke, *op. cit.*, pp. 324-325.

50. Sam Rayburn to William G. McAdoo, March 11, 1939, McAdoo Papers; Timmons, *op. cit.*, p. 166.

51. William G. McAdoo to Sam Rayburn, April 28, 1939, McAdoo Papers.

52. Henry L. Mencken, *Making A President* (New York: Alfred Knopf, 1932), p. 163.

53. James F. Rooney to William G. McAdoo, July 1, 1932, McAdoo Papers.

54. Grace Tully, *F. D. R. My Boss* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1949), p. 51.

55. Basil O'Connor to F. D. Roosevelt, July 7, 1932, Roosevelt Papers.

The French Language Press in California

By Clifford H. Bissell

(Continued)

L'Echo du Pacifique

The number dated Wednesday, July 14, 1852, "1re Année, No. 18," has four pages of six columns each. The front page is wholly given up to advertisements and notices. It carries the information: "Prix 2 réaux (un seul exemplaire); 4 réaux par semaine, payables aux porteurs. 3 mois franc de port, 7 piastres, payable d'avance"; and "50c per week, single copies 25c." Also, "On exécute les impressions en tous genres et à des conditions raisonnables. Editions de luxe. Vaste assortiment de caractères de goût et accentués pour le français, l'espagnol, l'italien et l'allemand." On the next page is the report of a successful evening at the Théâtre Français, where the comedy *Michel Perrin* was given. Derbec published a letter from Mariposa, signed B. F., telling how American miners, "bandes d'outlaws (gens qui méprisent la loi) et dont les trois quarts viennent du Texas," had threatened, with the assistance of lawyers and judges, to expel French miners from their claims as they had expelled the Spanish and Mexicans, and how this had been averted and everything established on a friendly footing by the personal intervention of Consul Dillon. Derbec remarks, "On sait que nous avons travaillé deux années dans les placers de l'extrême Sud, et particulièrement à Mariposa."

During March, 1853, the *Echo* published in eight installments an account of the Comte de Raousset-Boulbon's first expedition to Sonora, apparently written by the leader himself, since a letter from him to Derbec, dated at Mazatlán January 26, 1853, and printed in the March 13 issue, says, "Aujourd'hui, enfin, je puis dicter une note que j'ai l'honneur de vous faire remettre avec prière de lui donner le concours de votre publicité."

On May 7, 1853, the *Alta* says, "*L'Echo du Pacifique*, published thrice a week, has now been in existence nearly a year, so that San Francisco now has two French newspapers, both very respectable as regards editorial management and typographical appearance." (The other was *Le Courrier de l'Europe.)* On June 3 of the same year the *Alta* remarks, "The *Echo du Pacifique* appeared on its first anniversary in its new dress, enlarged and improved. Editorially and typographically it is a very respectable journal. The editor in a long article, felicitates himself on the success of his paper, reviews its course, and says that he will continue in the same course thereafter, taking no part with political factions and religious sects, but true to the French ideas of civilization and enlightenment." On July 2 the *Alta* again takes notice of the French paper, saying, "The *Echo du Pacifique* was yesterday again enlarged. It is now one of the largest papers in the State (it is as large as the *Alta)*[14] and the typographical execution is excellent. We are glad to know that the *Echo* is flourishing. Mr. Derbec, for a long time the sole editor and compositor,[15] suckled it with sweat, (as one of his correspondents says), and now he may well be gratified to see it successful."

The *Alta* of November 17, 1855, records that "A duel was fought near the city this morning, between Mons. Derbec, editor of the *Echo du Pacifique*, and Mons. De La Chapelle until recently editor of *La Messenger* [sic]. Mons. Derbec was attended by Messrs. H. A. Cobb and Monasseau; and Mr. De La Chapelle by Mons. Hector Chauviteau and Dr. Bajazon. The affair was thoroughly French, and according to the French code, under which the offended party has the privilege of making the terms of the duel. It was agreed that Mr. De La Chapelle was the injured party, and he accordingly made the stipulations, one of which was that only one shot should be exchanged. Ordinary duelling pistols were exchanged and the duel ended without injury to either party. We believe the affair grew out of a publication in the *Echo*, which, it is said, was founded upon a paragraph printed in another paper." The "Continuation of the *Annals of San Francisco*" adds that a reconciliation took place between the two adversaries when it was over.

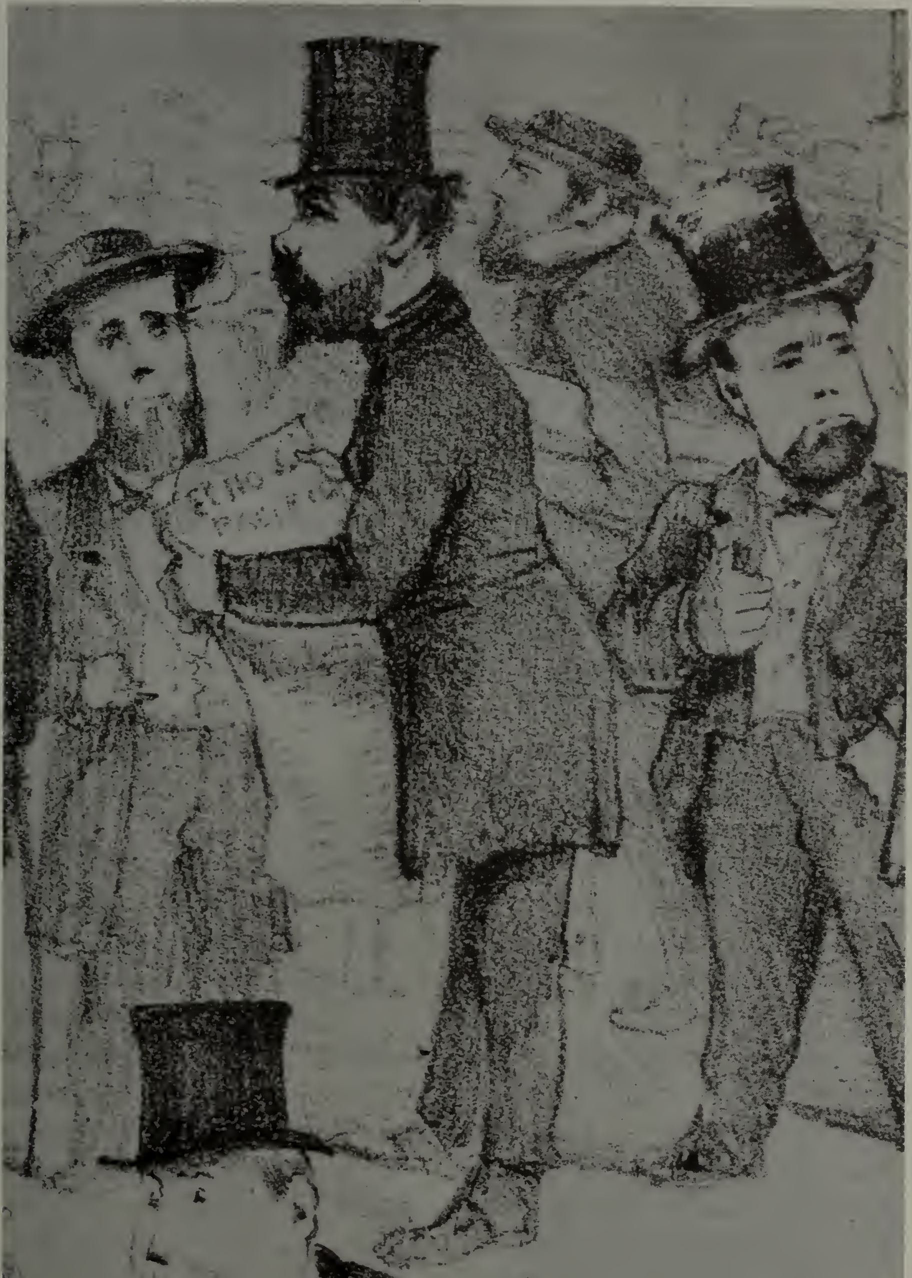
On December 31, 1855, we read in the *Alta* yet another comment on the *Echo:* "We learn that this really well conducted French journal will, on Tuesday next and thereafter regularly, be issued daily. This change will add materially to the efficiency of the paper, and we doubt not from the tact manifested heretofore, will be perfectly successful." In January, 1856, *El Eco del Pacífico* became a separate paper, owned by Derbec. In April, he bought out his chief rival, *Le Messager*, and for years afterwards the *Echo* carried beside its own name that of *Messager de San Francisco.* The issue of Saturday, July 12, 1856, announces itself as "Organe des Populations Françaises de la Californie et de l'Océan Pacifique, 5e année, no. 728, Derbec, prop." It has four pages, with eight columns to the page. The "partie littéraire" consists of a serial translated from the English by "Mme Ann Stephens." Perhaps the most interesting advertisement is that of the opening of "un pit à coqs, ou établissement de combats de coqs," on Broadway between Powell and Stockton Streets, by "Mm. Merville et Lallemand, maîtres éperonneurs." The cocks mentioned for the first series of fights all have French names. An editorial stigmatizes Terry for a fight in which he had seriously (perhaps, says the paper, mortally) wounded Sterling A. Hopkins of the Vigilance Committee, and declares that Terry should resign his judgeship.

The issue of July 5, 1856, carries a front page article on the precarious situation of the United States due to the slavery question, reports that "le Kansas est en feu," and adds prophetically: "Il y a presque guerre civile entre le nord et le sud." The issue of July 21 of the same year discusses the coming presidential election, Buchanan versus Frémont, and hopes for and predicts the triumph of the former. It gives statistics of arrests for different offenses during the month of June in San Francisco, of twenty-six kinds; the principal is "ivrognerie et désordres" with 57, followed by "attaques et violence" with 49; at the bottom of the list come "mépris des ordres de la Cour 2, viol 2, bris de membres humains 1." There are none for murder, though it is highly probable that some murders were committed. These two issues are steamer editions, which may be the reason for their relative paucity of advertisements; they are announced as "édition spéciale pour les Etats de l'Atlantique, l'Europe, l'Amérique du Sud, Tahiti, l'Oregon et la Chine."

The Civil War troubles of Derbec and the later history of his journalistic ventures will be covered below.

Alfred de Lachapelle, who first appears as the editor of "Le Présent et l'Avenir" in June, 1853, was a man of some importance in the early days of San Francisco, both as a journalist and because of his connection with two prominent Frenchmen, the Marquis de Pindray and the Comte de Raousset-Boulbon. Both of these led expeditions into Mexico, and both met their deaths there. De Pindray, according to all contemporary accounts, was a violent, swashbuckling type who would stop at nothing, who had a malodorous past in Europe, and whose subsequent conduct in America had not done anything to enhance his reputation. He was a giant of a man, irascible, dictatorial, and unscrupulous. De Massey came into contact with him in the mining regions, and refers to him in his journal in scathing terms. With him were the brothers de Lachapelle, Olivier and Alfred; de Massey stigmatizes the latter as de Pindray's valet and a parasite who acts as his butcher, secretary, cowboy, cook, confederate, and slave; "a small, sickly, shy, agile man who obeys his master's every look and gesture." Either de Massey took a jaundiced view of a majority of the people with whom he came into contact, or he had the misfortune to meet an unusual number of contemptible characters; from this distance it is impossible to gauge to what extent his description of de Lachapelle was justified. De Pindray was eventually shot dead in a small place in northern Mexico; whether by his own hand or another's is uncertain, though the latter seems more likely.

As for Gaston Raoulx, Comte de Raousset-Boulbon, he seems to have been more unfortunate than criminal. He was from the south of France. As a boy he was undisciplined and unruly, and led a wild life in France and Algeria, eventually losing a large fortune. But he was also a man of talent and had some sound political and economic ideas. He was a journalist, having established at Avignon in March, 1848, a paper called *La Liberté*, and conducted it for a year. On May 17, 1850, he left Southampton as a sailor on the steamer *Avon*, and after crossing the isthmus of Panama by mule and waiting nearly a month for a ship on which to continue his journey, arrived in San Francisco in August on the *Ecuador*, a small steamer flying the English flag but commanded by an American. In California Raousset-Boulbon was successively a hunter, a fisherman, a stevedore, and a cattle dealer. De Pindray tried to get him to join his Mexican expedition, but he refused, partly because he was



Etienne Derbec, who established *L'Echo du Pacifique.*
A caricature from a portion of an Edward Jump cartoon, entitled "At the Fair"
and dated 1864.

In the Society collection

wary of being too closely connected with a man of de Pindray's reputation, and perhaps even more because neither was the type who would have consented to be subordinate to the other.

When Raousset-Boulbon planned his own expedition into the state of Sonora in 1852, he was encouraged by the French consul at San Francisco, Patrice Dillon, who wanted to have a hand in everything. His aims in organizing that expedition, and the one that followed it, do not seem to have been base or selfish. He saw the state of Sonora unexploited because of fear of the Apache Indians, and wretchedly misgoverned from Mexico City. It had great undeveloped resources. His aim was to make of Sonora a state independent of Mexico and set up there a colony of Frenchmen to form a barrier against the United States, whose growth and increasing power he greatly feared; he said that this country, unless checked, would soon be the master of the world, and that within ten years not a cannon would be fired in Europe without its permission. Nevertheless he received offers of help from Americans in many quarters, and his second expedition, in 1854, might have succeeded if he had accepted them.

After his second departure for Sonora, accompanied by Olivier de Lachapelle, Raousset-Boulbon wrote various letters to Alfred de Lachapelle, and on February 28, 1854, he had an open letter in the latter's paper, *Le Messager,* addressed to the French chargé d'affaires in Mexico City, defending himself against an accusation of treachery made by the Mexican journal *Universal* and inspired by Santa Anna, to whom some of Raousset-Boulbon's correspondence had been sold by a perfidious Frenchman. He himself seems to have been deceived and betrayed by all the Mexicans with whom he had official contact; the final betrayal came from a Frenchman named Calvo, who was consul at Guaymas, and who promised him that his life would be safe if he surrendered, but who, upon his doing so, allowed the Mexicans to take and shoot him. On the very eve of his execution Raousset-Boulbon, who was only thirty-six, wrote a letter to de Lachapelle. De Lachapelle published a book about him in Paris in 1859, called *Le Comte de Raousset-Boulbon et l'Expédition de la Sonore,* including "correspondance, souvenirs et oeuvres inédites."

According to Kemble, *Le Messager* existed from October, 1853, to

March 31, 1856, but this statement—which is repeated in the W.P.A. history—is incorrect. The *Alta* of September 15, 1853, remarks, "LE MESSAGER, a tri-weekly French journal of our city, edited and owned by Messrs Lachapelle and Léotaud, appeared yesterday morning, enlarged and improved." The last three words show that even September 14 is not an early enough date. The correct date is given not only in a later issue of the *Alta,* but by de Lachapelle himself, in a copy of *Le Messager* found by A. P. Nasatir at the Paris Prefecture of Police. This copy, the only complete issue that has been found, consists of two five-column pages. It carries the heading: "3e année, No. 1. Jeudi, 11 août 1855. L. Albin, éditeur-propriétaire. Rue Merchant 16. A. de Lachapelle, Rédacteur. Prix: pour San Francisco, 4 réaux par semaine; pour l'intérieur, $7 pour 3 mois." The feature is an editorial by de Lachapelle in which he says,

> J'adresse quelques mots d'adieu au public. Je ne me suis mêlé de journalisme, en Californie, que pour céder aux instances d'un ami qui repose aujourd'hui dans le cimetière de Guaymas. J'appartins pendant un mois au Présent et l'Avenir. Le 16 août 1853, j'ai fondé *Le Messager de San Francisco.* Après avoir cessé d'en être le propriétaire, je cesse d'en être le rédacteur.[16]

The date is thus fixed beyond dispute.

In the *Alta* of August 20, 1855, we read: "The resignation of M. de la Chapelle from the editorial board of *Le Messager*, has already been announced; the columns of that paper, under the charge of that gentleman, have always been devoted to the promulgation of liberal and just principles, bearing evidence of a ready pen and an enlightened intellect. . . . Mr. de la Chapelle was for a short time connected with the *Present et l'Avenir.* On the 16th August, 1853, he founded *Le Messager*, of which, having ceased to be the proprietor, he now resigns the editorial charge. 'It is unnecessary,' he says, 'to explain to the public the how and why of all this; it has been my own little battle of Pavia, and I am content that I have saved something'." De Lachapelle is not heard of after his resignation from *Le Messager* and his duel with Derbec; he probably went back to France.

Under the proprietorship of L. Albin the *Messager* continued until the end of March, 1856. The *Alta* of April 2 of that year says, "Mr. Derbec, of the *Echo du Pacifique*, having purchased the French paper

Le Messager, that journal will be discontinued, and its patrons hereafter served with the *Echo*." The *Messager* had been republican in sympathies, whereas the *Echo* supported the *status quo* in France and Italy; it was this difference which had led to the duel between Derbec and de Lachapelle.

"The first number of the weekly pamphlet the California Review (French) was laid upon our table," says the *Alta* of November 27, 1853. "It exhibits in its editorials considerable spirit—an element essentially necessary, if it is the intention of the proprietor to cope with its already widely circulated and powerful contemporary the Echo." The proprietor referred to was a man named L'Héritier, who had been secretary of the Duc de Morny. He had as collaborators A. Gandonnière and Dr. Toubin, according to Lévy.[17] Kemble, however, mentions two papers called *La Revue Californienne*, both weeklies; he says that one, owned by Toubin, lasted a month, and the other, owned by L'Héritier, lasted three weeks. They are included in a list of "defunct French papers," nearly all of which belong either to 1854 or 1855, but neither of those years fits the quotation above. An 1851 *Revue Californienne* (see above) and an 1853 periodical of the same title are definitely established; it is not clear what is the relationship between the latter and the two (if there really were two) listed by Kemble. Perhaps he mistook the two editorships, that of Toubin and that of L'Héritier, for two separate journals.

Two issues of the 1853 *Revue Californienne* have been found in the Paris Prefecture of Police, by A. P. Nasatir. One is the first issue, dated Thursday, November 24, 1853. It begins, "Sommaire: Intérêts locaux. Romans. Sciences. Commerce. Industrie. Arts. Géodésie, etc. Revue des Théâtres. Semaine politique et littéraire. Publié tous les jeudis par livraison de 16 pages. Rédacteur en chef: Docteur Toubin. Administrateur: M. Gabriel Guillon. On souscrit au Bureau de la Revue, Rue Clay, 217, entre la Plaza et la rue Dupont." Next comes an apology: "Nos lecteurs voudront bien nous excuser de n'avoir pu placer des lettres accentuées sur toute l'étendue de notre composition." Then there is an editorial, signed by Dr. Toubin, headed "Avis à Nos Lecteurs." He says,

> "Le journalisme français a pris pied à San Francisco. Malgré quelques tentatives infructueuses, il possède encore deux organes, *L'Echo du Pacifique* et *Le Messager*

de San Francisco. Nous avons pensé qu'à côté de ces deux journaux, qui, par l'entrecroisement de leur apparition, livrent, chaque jour, une feuille à la publicité, il y avait une place à prendre, non à titre de concurrence, mais à titre de complément. La REVUE, en effet, á des allures bien différentes de celles du JOURNAL. Plus grave et réservée, elle ne se lance point dans les escarmouches hardies de la polémique."[18]

A serial article entitled "Etude comparée des Législations françaises et américaines," also by Dr. Toubin, begins here. This number reveals that "Les Californiennes," sometimes recorded as a separate publication,[19] was not the name of a newspaper. One of the pages of the *Revue* bears the title "Californienne," and has a footnote stating that "Les Californiennes, par le docteur Toubin, seront réimprimées en volume, et données en prime à nos Abonnés." This particular "Californienne" was in verse, imitating a poem by Theodor Koerner, and entitled "A M. le Comte de Raousset Boulbon." The issue is completed with a "Roman inédit" and a short section called "Tablettes politiques."

The other known copy of the *Revue* is dated Thursday, January 19, 1854, and is headed Vol. 1, Nos. 7, 8, 9. "Géodésie" is no longer mentioned, and the paper is described as a "Revue politique, littéraire et théâtrale, publiée tous les jeudis, par livraison de 24 pages. Prix, 2 réaux. . . . Notre feuille est pliée de maniére qu'il n'y a qu'à la couper." The office remains the same, but the editors and proprietors are now named as Mr. Héritier and Gabriel Guillon, the former named as "Rédacteur en chef." On page 3 appears a "Réponse de M. Gabriel Guillon aux Petites Misères de M. le Docteur Toubin," with a footnote, "Ce n'est pas moi qui ai inventé ce titre de PETITES MISERES, c'est M. Toubin qui l'a inscrit en tête d'un des articles qu'il a dirigés contre moi." There had been, evidently, a dispute between Guillon and Toubin about money owed and about who had the right to the title *La Revue Californienne.* The latter apparently accused the former of evicting him from the editorship of "Le Présent et l'Avenir" and of disorganizing and ruining it. Guillon, in replying, speaks of that French section of an American paper, "qui a abouti à une complainte de piteuse mémoire, qui ne lui a fait honneur ni comme homme, ni comme écrivain." There is a letter called "Examen de l'Etude comparée des Législations françaises et américaines," in which the writer advises Frenchmen against all measures "qui tiendraient à les isoler de plus en plus des Américains.

Nous avons dit qu'ils l'étaient déjà trop." There is also a narrative, "Une Chasse à l'Ibis, Souvenir de la Louisiane," and some anecdotes headed "Causeries." Evidently Dr. Toubin's editorship and his connection with the *Revue* were of very short duration.

The middle 'fifties: doubtful and short-lived journals; *Le Phare;* literary weeklies

Le Courrier d'Europe is described by the *Alta* of May 7, 1853, as "a weekly French paper, devoted to European news which have [sic] been started in this city, and two numbers have been published. Some of the articles are very well written." The paper was therefore started about the last week of April; it must have been very short-lived, and no copies have been found. It is not listed in Kemble or any San Francisco city directory, nor even in the *Alta's* own list of "dead and living papers," June 12, 1866.

Kemble's list of papers of the 1850s has already been mentioned. It includes five or six of which no copies are located and to which no other references are known. Among them are:

(1) *Le Français.* Kemble says this was a tri-weekly, edited by Thiele, and that it lasted a month, presumably in 1854 or 1855.

(2) *Le Mineur,* another of Thiele's ventures, semi-weekly, which lasted a month, also in 1854 or 1855.

(3) *Passe-Partout,* a weekly edited by Léon Chemin, lasting about three months in 1854 or 1855.

(4) *La Presse.* Established by Gandonnière, presumably in 1854 or 1855; it lasted but one day!

(5) *Le Tam-Tam.* Started by Jules de France, presumably in 1854 or 1855, and lasting only a week.

In *Le National* of March 9, 1868, March 8, 1869, and March 21, 1870, appeared a list of California French newspapers from 1851 to date. It contains four titles not otherwise known. One is *Le Cancan,* which may be the same as Kemble's *Tam-Tam.* The other three are *Les Dominicales, Les Petites Affiches,* and *La Mine Littéraire.* These names sound more like those of sections or departments of newspapers than like names of newspapers themselves. That they were such is especially likely in view of the fact that *Les Californiennes* of the same list has been shown to be a department of Dr. Toubin's *Revue Californienne* of 1853; however, the last may be an error for *La Semaine Littéraire.*[20]

Dr. Toubin was responsible for three other lesser papers of the middle 'fifties. Kemble mentions his semi-weekly, *Le Colibri.* A. P. Nasatir has found three issues or parts thereof in the Paris Prefecture of Police. No. 8, dated "Jeudi, 7 juin, 1855," has four pages of three columns each, with the masthead "Rédaction, Docteur Toubin. Prix, 1 Réal. Prix d'Abonnement pour les Mines, $2 par Trimestre, payable d'avance." It contains no real news. On page 1 Dr. Toubin has an editorial in which he writes,

> On demande des articles sérieux d'intérêt local général, surtout en ce qui concerne les Français; j'en ferai et je commence. Je dirai ma pensée... avec l'indépendance d'un homme qui ne relève que de Dieu et da sa conscience.... J'affirme, que tant qu'il me restera un souffle de vie, je dirai la vérité, envers et contre tous, sans haine, sans récrimination.... J'accomplirai mon devoir en clouant au pilori les infâmes qui ont perdu la colonie française en Californie.... Nous sommes trentecinq mille, au moins, sur un territoire à peine peuplé, et nous sommes presque autant de dissidents.... La cause du mal, c'est que la France n'a jamais été dignement représentée en Californie. Le mandat consulaire n'est pas un portefeuille de négociant.[21]

No. 12 is dated "jeudi, 21 juin 1855," and again has no news. It carries an advertisement of Dr. Toubin, "Rue Quincy, No. 4, Consultations à toute heure." The third, bearing no date except 1855, consists of the clipped columns of an "Examen de la question" by Toubin, in which he blames Dillon, the French consul, and the *Echo du Pacifique* for checking the flow of capital and goods from France to California. There is nothing to show how long *Le Colibri* lasted. None of the copies extant state how often it was published, but Kemble is probably correct in calling it a semi-weekly; if so, the first number must have been on or about May 14, since No. 8 is dated June 7.

All that is known of another of Toubin's ventures is a reference in the *Alta* on April 29, 1856: "A new French paper, *La Semaine Littéraire,* edited by Dr. Toubin, made its appearance yesterday." Also in 1856 (though Kemble suggests 1854 or 1855) was Toubin's *Le Patriote.* What little we know about it is gleaned from *Le Phare,* whose editor, Léon Chemin, attacked it and Toubin in strong language.

According to Lévy, *Le Phare* was founded on July 20, 1855, by one Bachelier, an ardent French patriot, who died soon afterwards. Lévy names Léon Chemin, L. Nolf, and Henri Depouey as editors; he omits mention of L. Gandonnière, who was editor early in 1856, and who had Henry Wertheimer as co-editor from January 14 of that year. Kemble, on the other hand, gives the initial date as July 22, 1855, and the original editors and owners as P. Heitzeberg and Co. He says the paper was republican and anti-Napoleon. *Le Phare* started as a semi-weekly, but announced that beginning January 1, 1856, it would be published every day except Sunday. Its prices were "1 real" for single copies, 50 cents a week, and "7 piastres" per quarter for the mines edition. Bachelier sold the paper to one Herre, and the latter was succeeded as owner by W. M. Hinton.

Lévy says that *Le Phare* was the great rival of Thiele's *Le National;* and *Notre Centenaire,* seemingly echoing this assertion, makes the following remarkable statement: "Sous la rédaction de M. Chemin, *Le Phare* semblait n'avoir d'autre but que d'attaquer la feuille rivale et son rédacteur M. Thiele"—a statement remarkable for two reasons. First, that *Le Phare* went out of existence in 1863 and *Le National* did not start until 1864; and second, that in 1863 Thiele was himself one of the owners of *Le Phare.* This paper did, however, indulge in polemics with other journals, notably *L'Echo du Pacifique* and *Le Patriote.* In an article titled "Avis au Public" in the issue of January 14, 1856, the editor (Gandonnière) complains,

> Il n'est pas de moyens souterrains qu'on n'emploie pour empêcher la publication du *Phare*. . . . Tout a été mis en oeuvre contre lui, qui seul ici ne craint pas de dire la vérité aux personnes, si haut placées qu'elles soient. C'est surtout d'en haut que vient l'animosité, et l'*Echo du Pacifique,* qui malgré ses dénégations est l'organe avéré du consulat, ne nous étonne nullement en ayant inséré l'avis de celui qui nous menace de suspension. . . . on tient à discréditer une feuille qui a eu le grand tort, à leurs yeux, d'obliger à faire paraître quotidiennement la leur.[22]

The person who had so threatened *Le Phare* was its former owner, Herre, and in the issue just cited appears a notice signed by Hinton, who was then the owner, declaring that, having seen the announcement in the *Echo du Pacifique,* he (Hinton) avers that Herre is fraudulently assuming the right to carry out a judicial levy against *Le Phare* or to stop its publication, and that he has no legal interest in the paper. In May, 1856, Hinton and Henry Wertheimer are given as publishers, and H. H. Rapp as the only person authorized to "acquitter les factures du *Phare.*"[23] Chemin, who by this time had succeeded Gandonnière as editor, has an article in the issue of May 9, 1856, addressed to "La

Société Julian, Toubin, Derbec et Compagnie." Evidently this Julian, who had some connection with *Le Patriote*, had challenged Chemin to a duel, and one V. X. (Chemin himself?) scornfully replied that a writer fights with his pen, that the *Patriote's* reply to Chemin "pue la sentine," that the writer of it expresses himself like "un troupier mal appris, ou plutôt comme un pourfendeur qui s'escrime dans le vide." He accuses Toubin, the ostensible owner of *Le Patriote*, of being the real culprit, who "s'est chargé d'accoucher le nouveau-né [*Le Patriote*] pour avoir le plaisir peu humain de le tuer.... M. Toubin compte les titres des journaux qui ont expiré sous ses coups." Chemin further declares that he knows that Derbec bought $300 worth of type so that *Le Patriote* could appear, and the "malheureux transfuge" (Toubin) should be the object of universal scorn.

The May 16 issue contains a sarcastic article about Derbec's having been decorated Chevalier de la Légion d'Honneur, though without naming him. It says, "Il a pu faire vivre quatre ans un journal d'un poids et d'un volume considérable, il s'est surpassé en contribuant à mettre au jour une publication nouvelle, une feuille à deux couleurs et deux fins, *Le Patriote*, qui salit la démocratie en la défendant." He also says that Derbec has introduced many Belgian and German expressions into the *Echo du Pacifique*. At this time *Le Phare* had four pages of five columns each, of which page 3 was made up wholly of advertisements and page 4 of a directory classified by trades and professions. The paper ran a feuilleton, reported judicial decisions that might affect French people, carried notices of public sales, and had a few news items from domestic and foreign sources, short articles on subjects such as mushrooms and toadstools, and occasional verse.

During the early part of 1856 *Le Phare* displayed a notice in English on its front page, "To our American Patrons," declaring: "Having a much larger circulation than any other French paper in California, *le Phare* offers to American advertisers superior advantages for making their establishments known to the French population. It circulates largely throughout the mines and in the interior, and is seen by nearly every one of the 30,000 Frenchmen in California." The issue of Friday, January 23, 1863, is enlarged to six columns; it still has four pages, but page 3, of which two-thirds is advertisements and notices, is all in

Italian, with the heading "Cronica Italiana." Th. Thiele and A. Neuval are given as owners, and G. Oliva as "redattore" of the Italian section. The offices are in the Government Building, Sansome and Washington streets. There is practically no real news of any kind. Among the advertisements is one reading, "Oeufs! Oeufs! nouvellement débarqués. 200 caisses d'oeufs (Wilson's Maine Eggs). Pour l'usage des Pâtissiers, Restaurants et des Navires." Among the notices on page 2 is one of the French Mutual Benefit Society, giving the names of correspondents in different places, including such picturesque ones as Algerine Camp, Brandy City, Don Pedro Bar, Fiddletown, Humbug City, Jesus Maria, Port Wine, Poverty Bar and Rich Bar, Sailor's Diggings, and Volcano.

In 1856, under Chemin's tenure as editor, *Le Phare* called upon all Frenchmen to join the Vigilance Committee and punish Casey for his murder (or attempted murder, the victim being still alive) of James King of William. It also stigmatizes the *Herald* for attacking the Vigilance Committee, and assails Governor J. Neely Johnson for calling out the militia against the Committee after first approving its activity. The issue of June 5 shows two pictures of King, one after his death. On July 28, 1863, the *Alta* announced, "*Le Phare*, a morning French newspaper of some years standing, has been merged into its contemporary, the *Echo du Pacifique*, also a morning French newspaper." Could it be that the claim made earlier by *Le Phare*, that it had the largest circulation of any French paper in California, was exaggerated?

In 1856 L. Albin, at 61 Merchant Street, began publication of a French literary weekly, the *Bibliothèque Populaire*. Early in 1858 it merged with *Le Spectateur*, another literary weekly that began on or about April 1, 1857,[23] published by A. Neuval at the same address as Albin's. The merged journals became the *Spectateur et Bibliothèque Populaire*, Albin and Neuval publishers, Théodore Thiele, editor. The paper ceased about 1860, and does not appear in the 1860-61 directory or later. Albin died in 1868, and the *Alta* of February 7 of that year relates that his remains were followed to the tomb by a large and imposing funeral cortège, the writer adding, "An honorable, industrious and energetic man, respected by all who knew him. . . . the editorial fraternity of this city lost one who was an honor to the profession."

The late 'fifties: *L'Union Franco-Américaine;* Frick and *Le Mineur*

The W.P.A. *History of Foreign Journalism in San Francisco* states that Léon Chemin took what was left of *Le Phare* in 1863 and started *L'Union Franco-Américaine.* Just what is the meaning of the phrase "what was left of *Le Phare*" would be difficult to say; that journal was bought out by the *Echo du Pacifique*, so there was presumably nothing left of it. Moreover, *L'Union Franco-Américaine* was founded several years before *Le Phare* went out of existence; it was established in 1859 or perhaps even 1858, for it is listed in Langley's 1859 city directory as an independent daily with Chemin as editor; in the same volume Rapp and Co. are given as publishers of *Le Phare.* The *Union* had its offices at 517 Clay Street. The 1879 *Almanach de la Californie* describes it as "a republican, democratic, socialistic, more or less red journal, according to the times." Occasional references to "Le Franco-Américain" must be to this paper, as none by that title has been found. Its later career will be dealt with below.

In 1859 there came to San Francisco a rather remarkable Frenchman named Dominique Frick. He was born at Neuf-Brisach (Haut-Rhin) on August 2, but there is some conflict as to the year.[24] He fought at the battle of Leipzig and in Napoleon's 1814 campaign in France. He was a friend of Béranger, Ary Scheffer, and other liberals. On January 16, 1825, he was elected to the Commission Centrale de la Société de Géographie and appointed "Directeur du Journal des Voyages," a compilation in a number of volumes, published by a society of French and foreign geographers and travelers, edited by Frick and N. de Villeneuve. "Monsieur Frick, homme de lettres," had previously received a diploma from the Société des Sciences, Agriculture et Arts of the Départment of Bas-Rhin, in session at Strasbourg, making him a corresponding member. During the Restoration he was compromised in a republican conspiracy and had to leave France. For a number of years he was connected with the French consulate in London. The establishment of the republic in 1848 permitted his return to France, and in 1851 he went to Hawaii, where he had been appointed "commissaire de la République aux îles Sandwich." His powers seem to have been somewhat ill-defined. He is referred to as "chancellor," and in a letter to the

Pacific Commercial Advertiser dated Honolulu, November 29, 1856, he says he was for a time "first consular chancellor" under E. M. Perrin, "Consul-commissaire." He and Perrin were soon at swords' points. *Le National* of February 12, 1866, says, "Son séjour dans cet archipel ne fut qu'une longue série de déboires: détesté par l'agent impérial qui ne lui pardonnait pas sa supériorité intellectuelle, il eut à supporter pendant dix ans toutes sortes de tracasseries et de persécutions."

One of the main reasons seems to have been that Frick was openly opposed to French ownership or control of the islands; he admired the Hawaiians and wanted them to remain independent. He had first met King Kamehameha in Paris. Perrin, who had been in Hawaii for a long time and had acquired much influence, finally succeeded in having Frick stripped of his authority. In the letter of November 29 referred to above Frick accuses Perrin of having obtained his removal by false charges against him and of having prevented his repatriation with his family at the expense of the government by whose orders he had been sent to Hawaii; he also claims that he was falsely reported to be in secret employment of the Hawaiian government, from which he was alleged to have received $2,000 to betray the interests of France. His wife died in Honolulu. After her death he had all his children except the eldest, who was absent, re-baptized in the Episcopal Church; they, like him, had been brought up as Roman Catholics. In 1852 he applied for a patent on a process of preserving "for any required length of time" the root "kalo" (taro). He wanted the exclusive rights to the use of this discovery for five years. The patent was refused on the ground that "it would be unjust to give anyone an exclusive privilege to the use of a process which, like this, has been in common use on these Islands from time immemorial." At the fifth annual meeting of the Royal Hawaiian Agricultural Society Frick read a paper entitled "Notes on Hawaiian Indigo"; his name was accompanied by the notation "LL.D., Manufacturing Chemist." Besides being a chemist, he was a conchologist and a facile writer of both prose and verse, the latter generally of a satirical turn. The following lines against Perrin, extant in manuscript, were perhaps never published:

Ce bon Monsieur Perrin
S'est laissé choir dans le pétrin;
Par ce pied de nez
Les marchands lésés
Au gouvernement
Vont dire, en grognant,
V'la donc ce fier traité,
Où le commerce est enfoncé.

He did, however, publish a poem satirizing Perrin in *Le National* of October 17, 1864; it was called "La Tombe de Perrin, de son vivant commissaire de France aux îles Sanwich [sic], par son historiographe Dr. Frick, LL.D." It ran:

De Hawaï, les mânes de Perrin
Ont adressé requête au dieu Jupin,
Pour obtenir des membres de leur race
Une visite à la pauvre carcasse.
Jupin est grand! . . . Aussitôt de chardons
Un tapis riche embellit cette place
Où vont s'ébattre ânes avec ânons.

Soon after coming to San Francisco Frick founded the journal *Le Mineur,* "Journal de tout le monde," which lasted, as far as we can tell, about a year and a half. It was a weekly, published on Sundays, beginning June 5, 1859. The *Alta* of May 19, 1859, says "We have received the prospectus of a weekly French newspaper, to be called *Le Mineur,* which Dr. Frick, LL.D., proposes to establish in this city. Dr. Frick, who has lately arrived from the Sandwich Islands, is a learned and able man and an enterprising writer, and we should be glad to see him succeed in his enterprise." On June 6 the *Alta* reports, "We have received the first number. . . . It is a large quarto of eight pages, neatly printed on good paper. The leading article on European politics is able and comprehensive; the *chronique* contains many amusing hits, in the bright gay style of French wit."

The only known copy is Vol. I, No. 33, dated January 15, 1860. It consists of four pages of seven columns each. It carries the device "Labeur nargue faveur," and the masthead "D. Frick, LL.D., Rédacteur-Propriétaire, Bureau et Résidence, Rue Kearney, Plaza, entresol de Gilbert's New Melodeon." The contents are interesting. An editorial of an inspirational nature exhorts readers to support ill fortune with courage and never to give up the struggle; the writer says that five of his children, "éparpillés par la tourmente . . . sont revenus récemment se grouper autour du tronc qui tient encore." Next comes a notice about the Société Française de Secours, followed by some news items, including one about the foundering of the S.S. *Northerner* off Cape Mendocino. A three-column article on "Date de la création de l'homme," unsigned, upholds scientists against religious fundamentalists. There are "Nouvelles de Honolulu," and a note that Victor Hugo, from his exile, "a flétri les noms des bourreaux de Brown," calling his execution "une tache nationale." The present writer agrees, and says that many Americans feel the same way. There is a poem by Frick called "Pastorale Plaintive. La Chaumière." The author asks that composers submit music for it. Four letters are published: one by Frick himself, one by the Minister of Agriculture and Commerce of the French government, one by Frick's enemy Perrin, and one by a Doctor Hillebrand in Honolulu, concerning the discovery by him or Frick in 1854 of a process for making better and cheaper bread by means of a farinaceous substance. In the letter by Frick, which is addressed to the Minister, Perrin is designated as "un homme de mauvaise foi, et dont les faux rapports ont provoqué l'injustice qui pèse sur moi depuis si longtemps."

The advertisements in this issue of *Le Mineur* are interesting also. They contain Americanisms such as "huile de houille," and "rafraîchissements à la barre." An advertisement of Gilbert's New Melodeon (Gilbert being a Frenchman) announces the opening there of a Café Chantant like those in Paris and such as San Francisco has never seen, and adds the reassuring statement: "Un nombre suffisant d'officiers de police veillera au strict maintien de l'ordre." Frick has an advertisement of his own, offering to sell his conchological collection, with a catalogue published by the London Geographical Society. Although Frick was unquestionably a very able man, his paper lasted only about eighteen months, if that long; the *Alta* of February 27, 1861, remarks that it is no longer published. On the same page is an announcement of a lecture by Dr. Frick on "Humbug," to be delivered on March 7. The writer says, "Dr. Frick, although a Frenchman by birth, understands English very well, and will no doubt make considerable fun of his subject." Frick later became one of the most valued contributors to *Le National,* and his later years will be described under that paper.

Most of the French journalistic ventures of the 1850's had short lives. When 1860 came the field was dominated by the *Echo du Pacifique*, though there were two other dailies, *Le Phare* and the *Union Franco-Américaine*. There was also the weekly *Mineur*, but this was about to expire.

Chapter II

NORTHERN CALIFORNIA: THE 'SIXTIES, 'SEVENTIES, AND 'EIGHTIES

New Dailies and Weeklies, 1860-1864; *Le National*

On Saturday, August 18, 1860, appeared the first issue of a new weekly, *La Ruche Littéraire*. Although calling itself a "journal hebdomadaire illustré," this was rather a magazine, devoted to "littérature, sciences, arts, découvertes, mémoires, biographies, voyages, romans, nouvelles, anecdotes." It was published by Henry Payot, Libraire-Editeur, at 640 Washington Street, and cost $4.00 a year. The first number had eight pages; the last page consisted of advertisements, which also covered a column and a quarter on page 7, a proportion increased to two and three-quarters columns by the time No. 4 appeared. During 1861 no mention was made of the Civil War until the issue of September 14, when the text of the Constitution of the United States was published, "dans le moment où les Etats-Unis ont les armes à la main, les uns pour attaquer, les autres pour défendre la Constitution." The editors go on to explain, "Quoique La Ruche ne s'occupe pas de politique, elle a cru, cependant, qu'elle pouvait faire cette publication, à titre de document historique." Politics, incidentally, seems to have been about the only subject with which *La Ruche Littéraire* did not concern itself, as is shown by the announced program. Among its contents up to and including No. 73 were the memoirs of Garibaldi by Alexandre Dumas, a serial by Thiers called "Relation de l'Expédition d'Egypte," a long serial by Clémence Robert called "Les Martyrs de la Bastille," the story of the career of Benedict Arnold, an account of the last days of Voltaire, episodes from the life of Benvenuto Cellini by J. Jabnin, an article on Lincoln on the occasion of his election (No. 29, March 2), Vigny's story "Laurette ou le Cachet Rouge," and an article on New York, which then had 800,000 inhabitants, with a picture of the city. Although advertisements continued to increase until they even encroached on page 6, the project of such a magazine was apparently too ambitious for the San Francisco of that day. The journal did, however, manage to survive up to some time in 1863 or 1864. The Langley directory for 1863-4, which contains the final mention of it, lists it as owned and published by P. Dezaux at 622 Clay Street.

The *Alta* of June 18, 1861, states that "The first number of a neatly printed daily evening French paper, called *Le Courrier des Amériques*, was issued in this city yesterday. It is published at 517 Clay St., by A. R. Sparrow and Eugène Chamon. Léon Chemin is editor. It is furnished at 25 cents per week, or $5 for six months. It is an 'independent' journal, and affects to be only a newspaper." It died within a year. The editorial picture in San Francisco has been confused by the confounding of Chemin and Chamon, and further complicated by confusion between two men named Chamon. In the mid-'fifties Chemin was editor of *Le Phare*, and in 1859 of *L'Union Franco-Américaine*. The latter journal was later edited by Eugène Chamon; he appears as such in the 1864-5 directory, but not in that for 1866, in which he and Neuval appear as editors of *L'Indépendant*. Langley's 1861 directory lists *Le Courrier des Amériques* as owned by Eugène Chamon and Son. It is difficult to see how this Chamon could have had a son old enough to take part in the business, for *Le National* of September 30, 1867, calls his death four days earlier untimely, and states that he was barely 27, and that he had been in California eight years. The obituary says that he had been a typesetter for *Le National* during the six months preceding his death, and that previously he had been head of a printing establishment and then of an asphalt company. Nothing is said about his having owned or published a newspaper, though as head of a printing shop he could have done so. Then there was a J. B. J. Chamon, who must have had a proprietary interest in the *Union Franco-Américaine*, for in 1868 he sued the City and County of San Francisco in connection with the destruction of the paper (see below).

On June 10, 1863, according to the *Alta* of the following day, there was filed in the office of the County Clerk the certificate of incorporation of the "Courrier de Californie Printing and Publishing Co.," formed for the purpose of printing and publishing a daily newspaper to be called *Le Courrier de Californie*. The names of the directors are given as J. M. Verdenal, F. N. Neuval, and A. Gross. Kemble mentions a man named Versian as editor of this paper, and says that it lasted only six weeks.

A new weekly paper was begun on March 7, 1864, under the title of *Le National.* It was founded by Théodore Thiele, sold for 12½ cents a copy, and bore the device, "Liberté, Union," and the statement that it was "rédigé par une réunion d'écrivains de la Californie." It first styled itself a "journal politique et littéraire," and later a "revue hebdomadaire, politique, critique et littéraire." The *Alta* of April 16, 1865, remarks that "*Le National* is the title of a weekly French paper published in this city every Monday. Its columns every issue contain sound Union articles, and the paper is exerting quite an influence with our foreign population. The editor is evidently familiar with our institutions, and expresses his views with clearness and force." This is a very fair appraisal. Thiele was an able writer and had capable collaborators, among them Dominique Frick, former editor and publisher of *Le Mineur,* and various French writers using pen names, such as "Jean de Paris" (Pierre Véron), "Nemo" (Henri de Pène), "Jean tout Court," "Vétille," "Citadin," "Lutèce," "Jean de Nivelle," "Jérémie," "Franc," "Facétie," etc. The editor prided himself on the fact that with *Le National* was incorporated the *Journal du Stock Mineur,* but after December 12, 1864, the latter ceased to appear, no reason being given.

Le National had its offices at 622 Clay Street, Room 9. Its early numbers consisted of four pages of five columns each, of which the last was devoted to a feuilleton. Strange to say, the first two numbers contained no advertisements; a few appeared in No. 3, and they gradually increased in quantity. In the most literal sense of the word *Le National* was not truly a newspaper. It commented on events both domestic and foreign, but seldom reported even the most significant, such as the assassination of Lincoln or the outbreak of the Franco-Prussian War; it evidently assumed that its readers obtained the facts from other sources. *Le National* published frequent anti-clerical articles, especially against the temporal power of the Pope. It also contrasted, on more than one occasion, the liberty of the United States and the respect of the government for the will of the people with the Napoleonic tyranny in France. Thiele was an eloquent advocate of freedom, and therefore an enemy of slavery and of the government of Napoleon III. He was a great admirer of the United States and of Abraham Lincoln, whom he praised in his lifetime and mourned at his death in an issue of the paper framed in black bands. His editorial of April 17, 1865, about the murder of Lincoln and the supposed murder of Seward, cursed the assassin and ended with, "Soit maudite à jamais la cause qui arma leurs mains parricides!" There was very little mention of the actual operations of the Civil War while it was going on. One finds a few words about it in No. 1, including a mention of the "Rapid Ann" river.

No. 2 has a facetious article to the effect that the *Echo du Pacifique* has published a "decree" banning *Le National*, reminding one of something very similar in the *Echo* in 1856 concerning *Le Phare*, which the *Echo* later absorbed. No. 8 has a front page article signed "Un Alsacien," predicting that the German states will never unite, and calling the idea of united Germany "un grand fantôme." No. 9 (May 9, 1864) announces that by decision of the Postmaster General the *National* is the only French journal officially authorized to publish the list of unclaimed French letters. The same issue reprints an article from the *American Flag* attacking Derbec of the *Echo du Pacifique* and accusing him of having presented a fraudulent claim against the state of California and of constantly distorting facts in his journal. One sentence reads, "He stinks, positively, in the nostrils of a free people." The *National* then addresses a letter of facetious and hypocritical sympathy to the *Echo*. A shorter article refers to a canard published by the "Coco du Pacifique." The issue of July 4 has an article by Thiele saying the curse of slavery will soon be wiped out.

With the issue of October 6 the height of the paper is enlarged by about two inches and it carries six columns instead of five; simultaneously, there is a tremendous increase in the volume of advertising. October 17 brings a still further expansion in length and width as well as an enlargement to seven columns. In the issue of February 7, 1865, Thiele compares Napoleon I with Washington, to the great disadvantage of the former, and referring to Napoleon III predicts, "Quand les temps seront venus, la Révolution vengera sur son auteur le crime du 2 décembre." On January 22, 1866, the *National* quotes from the *New York Times* an "esquisse" by Lamartine in which he praises Napoleon

III's intervention in Mexico as "une idée sublime, profonde comme l'océan," and says France should oppose "les usurpations des Etats-Unis." The article says Lamartine wants to revenge himself because the United States did not respond to his begging appeals for money, but he is only "un pauvre vieillard inoffensif."

With the establishment of *Le National*, Dominique Frick became one of its most valued contributors, and remained so until his death, contributing both prose and verse. Among the latter was a piece called "le dernier pétard de la papauté"; in another, he says Joseph remained chaste because Potiphar's wife was old and unattractive, and ends with the words, "la Bible à bon marché fait de la sainteté." On the very day of his death, which occurred early in February, 1866, he brought to the office a page of quite Rabelaisian verse, which was published on May 12. The issue of February 12 was leaded with mourning bands between every two columns, and relates that Frick had come to the office at 1:00 one day recently, but was not feeling well and went home in a carriage; when he reached the house he complained of violent chills in his feet, and then went into his study, where a few minutes later he fell dead on the floor. Thiele says of him, "Il avait su se faire un style dont l'originalité rappelle Rabelais et Marot," and "M. le docteur Frick était incontestablement, en Californie, le Français qui possédât l'instruction la plus variée et la plus étendue." In its issue of February 10, the *News Letter and California Advertiser* called him "a man old indeed, but endowed with a vivacity and freshness of feeling and intellect, which seemed to guarantee him a remarkable longevity . . .," and said, "He was a very good scholar in several languages, and a man of science (possessing one of the best collections of conchological specimens on the Pacific Coast) and very varied knowledge, and a poet of quite uncommon power, chiefly as a fabulist. . . . We trust that a selection of these writings may be made and published, as the best monument of the bright mind and singular character that has passed from among us so suddenly." The *Hawaiian Gazette* of March 17 said that he was remembered in Honolulu as "a writer, a lecturer, conchologist, and an eccentric, though learned, man."

In the address given at Dr. Frick's funeral by M. Miel, the Protestant minister who officiated after the Roman Catholic Church had refused, the speaker said, "Par ce brave coeur la vie avait été à la lettre une lutte incessante" but, he adds, Frick never let himself be overthrown. He triumphed over prejudices, and was clear-sighted and impartial. As for the action of the Catholic Church, "elle a bien fait; entre elle et notre ami il n'y avait plus, il ne pouvait plus y avoir rien de commun." Miel also tells that he once remarked to Frick, "Il est étrange comme dans votre visage, Docteur Frick, se trouvent combinés les traits de Voltaire et ceux de Béranger. 'Vous n'êtes pas le premier à vous en apercevoir,' répondit-il avec une naïve satisfaction." Among the writings of Frick was a short novel called *Milvia, ou L'Héroïne de la Catalogne*, which ran into a second edition. It was described as a "nouvelle historique, prise dans les événements de la guerre de 1823." He named one of his daughters Milvia after his heroine, and she married one Chappellet, who lived on the east side of San Francisco Bay and owned land there, and who in turn named Milvia Street in Berkeley after his wife.[25]

By 1866 about half of *Le National* consists of advertising. On March 4, 1867, it entered upon its fourth year, and declared that "les deux grands mobiles qui ont fait et continueront à être la base de sa ligne de conduite [sont] la défense des principes républicains, l'union et l'amitié entre notre colonie française et les citoyens du pays hospitalier qui lui a donné asile." The issue of March 11 has a warning article by Edgar Quinet, declaring that not only has German unity already been accomplished, but that France does not seem to have been apprised of the fact, and that this union is not against Russia, which Germany has no cause to fear, but against France. Eugène Sue contributed an article to the issue of August 19 describing the massacre on the Paris boulevards by order of Napoleon III, who, he says, outdid Attila, Timur, Caligula, Nero, and "tous les tueurs d'hommes et les égorgeurs de peuples." On February 1, 1869, the paper appears in a smaller format with only seven columns, but on November 29 it goes back to the larger, eight-column size. The latest issue of *Le National* known is that of October 17, 1870, No. 346, but there must have been one more, for the first issue of its successor, *L'Union Nationale*, is numbered 348 (see below).

1865: Death and Resurrection of the *Echo* and the *Union*

When the news of the murder of Lincoln reached San Francisco, crowds of angry citizens hunted down Secessionist sympathizers and destroyed the offices and equipment of several newspapers suspected of having favored the Southern cause. Among those attacked were the *Echo du Pacifique* and the *Union Franco-Américaine*. The former was preserved from destruction by the fact that its offices were adjacent to those of the *Alta California*, but on April 16, when Derbec felt that the danger was past, he found that his plant had been seized by the Federal authorities and that soldiers had taken possession on the 15th. He was not even allowed to enter the office. Although efforts to help him were made by the French consul, Charles de Cazotte, and by John S. Hittell, editor of the *Alta* and member of the state legislature, they were unsuccessful. Before General McDowell would withdraw the soldiers, Derbec had to give his word not to resume publication of the *Echo*, and when he was finally allowed access to his establishment he found that the soldiers had committed damage there almost as great as the mob would have done. On September 15, 1865, he sent a *mémoire* to Consul de Cazotte with a letter asking him to forward it to M. de Montholon, the French minister at Washington, to support his demand for damages from the United States government; in this he specifically charges damage by McDowell's soldiers, who were not withdrawn until May 4.[26]

On June 10, 1868, Derbec sued the City and County of San Francisco for $50,000; about the same time J. B. L. Chamon, of the *Union*, sued for $25,000. The *San Francisco Municipal Reports* mention eight suits of this character. The City and County Attorney gave an opinion that no remedy existed at common law, whereupon the legislature passed a special law, copied from the Statute of 1855 of the state of New York, making such action lawful and extending the right of recovery by the plaintiff retroactively to include the 1865 incidents. On November 19, 1868, Derbec was awarded $7,715, and on November 23 Chamon received $2,500, both of which sums they considered grossly inadequate; Chamon appealed. As late as 1883 Derbec was pressing claims for damages of $60,000 to the *Echo* and $10,000 to the *Eco del Pacífico*. He always denied being a Secession sympathizer, and claimed that as early as October 28, 1864, he was being slandered as such by a certain McBoden, whom he had dismissed from his employment. In a letter to General McDowell he quotes from a number of articles in his paper from February 15, 1861, to March 8, 1865, supporting the Union and praising Lincoln.

About the first of May, 1865,[27] Derbec started a successor to the *Echo*, *Le Courrier de San Francisco*.[28] It announced itself as "paraissant tous les jours," although it actually did not appear on Mondays. It was a large-size paper of four pages, eight columns to the page, and was more than half made up of advertisements; there was also a feuilleton called "Partie littéraire." The front page announced daily auction sales. Besides the daily edition, priced at 50 cents a week, there was a weekly edition at $6 for six months or $10 a year; a steamer edition for Europe at $6 a year; and an "édition pour les mines," 1 P.M., 25 cents, $6 for six months. The *National* of May 8 greeted the new paper with the comment, "Un examen rapide nous a paru prouver que le titre du journal et le nom de son propriétaire ont seul été changés, mais que l'esprit en est resté le même. . . . le premier de leurs devoirs est le respect absolu du pays où ils ont trouvé la plus généreuse hospitalité."

Irrespective of the charge that Derbec sympathized with the South, his papers did have a reactionary tinge. They were supporters of Napoleon III and of the temporal power of the Pope. The *Sacramento Union* of November 11, 1867, gives us the following account of more trouble this brought to Derbec: "About 1 P.M., as Mons. Derbec, editor of the *Courrier de San Francisco*, was passing down Jackson St., and as he turned into Montgomery St., he was met by one of the Italians who had taken umbrage at the tone of the French paper: this person had in his hands a paper containing a quantity of filth, which was thrown at Mons. Derbec, covering his hat and one sleeve of his coat. Instantly he drew a knife from his coat pocket and thrust it into his assailant; then withdrew it and prepared to attack the other two who were with the first assailant, but they had fled the field, and Mons. Derbec was seized by one of his friends, who would not let him pursue them." Instead, he reported the circumstances to the Chief of Police, thinking that a fatal stab might have been given; he was allowed to depart on his own recognizance and advised that a warrant would be issued for the arrest of his assailants, but he declined unless serious consequences should follow the blow. The article goes on to say, "Mons. Derbec had been threatened by some of the Italian party, and at one time a duel seemed imminent, but it seems that he received a message this morning informing him that he would be attacked and annihilated.... The parties accosting him were not known to Derbec."[29] On November 13, 1867, the Sacramento paper published a long editorial entitled, "Shall the Code triumph over the Law?" which condemns dueling and defends Derbec, whose views on dueling (at least on dueling in the United States) had apparently changed since his encounter with de Lachapelle a dozen years before. The editorial relates how Derbec had roused the ire of Italian "friends of Garibaldi and of the rash movement he headed against the Papal State in defiance of the Government of his country and in violation of the solemn treaty stipulations agreed to by that Government." His strictures on the "Party of Action" excited the rage of certain Italians, and one of them, after failing to get an editorial retraction, challenged Derbec to mortal combat. The Italians claim that the challenge was accepted and that Derbec is now backing out. He may have accepted it, says the editorial, in ignorance of the state law against dueling, and upon being enlightened declined to take the field. "He is entitled all the more to our respect if such were his motives. Not only does a duel not prove or decide anything, but it is unlawful, and if a duelist kills his antagonist, it is a State's prison offense and he is liable for the debts of the slain and the support and education of his family. The heirs may sue and recover $10,000. The press of San Francisco has been remiss in its duty in not earnestly denouncing the conduct of the Italians and in not justifying the French editor in his course of obedience to and respect for the law of his adopted country. These Italians have violated decency and law. It is a crime punished by fine and imprisonment in the county jail to post a man as a coward or to use contemptuous language toward him for not accepting a challenge or fighting a duel. That is what has been done to Derbec—that and an infamous personal assault to provoke him to a violation of the law. His brethren of the press reward his loyalty and duty by giving it a silent go-by and his savage persecutors a virtual indorsement." This affair, however, seems to have had no further consequences.

For some time the *Courrier de San Francisco* occupied a position of almost equal importance in the French press to its predecessor, the *Echo du Pacifique*. The issue of July 1, 1869, bears the caption, "Edition simplifiée et mise à la portée de toutes les intelligences." Its feuilleton is Hugo's *L'Homme qui Rit,* and it carries advertisements of the newly completed transcontinental railroad, seven days, Sacramento to New York, fare $150 (to be reduced in October to $112.50). News from France was obtained through the "Correspondance Gaillardet" and the "Correspondance Couailhac," and the journal also announces, "Par le Pacific Railroad nous avons des nouvelles de France" up to a date usually three weeks late. The issue of August 15, 1869, features a front-page article in connection with the national holiday in celebrating the centenary of the birth of Napoleon I, and the paper comments, "Nous fêtons en même temps son digne héritier Napoléon III, l'illustre souverain qui tient entre ses mains les destinées de la France!" In 1870 the offices were changed to 515 Jackson Street, near Montgomery. With the news of the declaration of war against Prussia is published a letter addressed to editor Derbec and enclosing a check for $500 for the first French soldier who captures a Prussian flag, signed Joseph Emeric. Another letter from Emeric appears in the issue of July 21, this time addressed to Emile Marque as editor, for Derbec had been neglecting the paper in his hopes of getting rich through the mines, and had turned the editing of it over to Marque and the management to one Loiseau.

Emile Marque, along with Thiele of *Le National,* was one of the ablest editors of the 'seventies and 'eighties; he later had his own paper, *Le Petit Californien,* and contributed to *L'Union Nouvelle* of Los Angeles. He was highly thought of, and Lévy mentions that a gold watch and a testimonial were presented to him when he left the city in 1881. Although he seems to have been a writer of considerable talent, he perpetrated strange misspellings of the names of the suburbs of Paris: Vanves is constantly called Vanvres, and Bécon, Bacon. In referring to California, jail is always "la calaboose," and the railway station is "le dépot." Under Marque's editorship the *Courrier de San Francisco* was much concerned with the Franco-Prussian War, and Monday supplements were published after the war began. The issue of July 23, 1870, has some bad verse by one Emile Phillippe, entitled "La Guerre," and containing the following lines:

> Sept jours lui suffiront pour aller à Berlin.
> Suivez-y le neveu de l'Empereur Martyr.
> Avec lui la victoire est sûre d'accourir.

The September 7 issue has a false report of the death of MacMahon. An editorial in the issue of September 9 praises Bazaine, "vaillant homme de guerre," and concludes, "Honneur au chef, au maréchal Bazaine, qui a conquis la confiance de ses soldats. . . . son nom, s'il reste pur dans l'avenir de tout attentat contre la liberté, sera offert à l'admiration de la postérité." The writer evidently had at the back of his mind the possibility of Bazaine's trying some day to establish a dictatorship, but did not suspect that in a few weeks he would be damned as a traitor. The issue of November 10 reprints a manifesto by Victor Hugo to the Parisians, copied from *L'Electeur Libre;* shortly before, there had been reprinted an exhortation from Hugo from *Le Rappel.*

Between January 1 and February 4, 1871, the paper ran a very good review, called "revue sommaire," of political events in France and Europe from the formation of the Ollivier ministry on January 2, 1870, to the beginning of the war. Each installment covered about a page and a half. Marque, the author, had some comments of his own to make. Speaking of the doctrine of papal infallibility, which had been announced shortly before the war began, he said that it had been preceded by "plusieurs propositions ou canons empreints de l'esprit religieux le plus intolérant et le plus directement opposés aux idées de progrès et de civilisation modernes." In the issue of February 4 he expresses the hope that the Assemblée Constituante, about to meet at Bordeaux, will keep the republican form of government; a republic, he says, is not a panacea, but it is "le gouvernement le plus logique, le plus rationnel, celui qui est le mieux calculé pour élever la dignité du caractère des citoyens." Moreover, "la France a payé assez cher le droit de ne plus vouloir d'expériences monarchiques." On April 7 the paper reported that an American banker had offered to buy the Vendôme Column (pulled down by the "Communistes") and have it put up in Central Park. The issue of April 16 tells about a duel which was to have taken place in Oakland between two members of the French colony, unfortunately not named; the police of "cette pastorale localité" interfered, so "le petit village de Piedmont" was selected for the scene of the encounter, but the seconds of the two would-be duelists had a misunderstanding about the time, and the meeting did not take place.

A frequent heading at this time is, "French Zouaves Attention!"

There is also a frequent notice, "Notre édition pour l'Europe paraîtra ce matin et partira par le Railroad: Prix: 25 sous. $6 dollars par an." This was evidently a successor to the original steamer edition. On July 14, 1871, the *Courrier* made no special display to honor the anniversary of the fall of the Bastille. On September 29 the editor says that he has received a letter, "grossière et injurieuse," signed by half a dozen persons who pose as "champions de l'Internationale"; he declines to give their names, and says let them bark, but if they try to bite, they will get the reception they deserve. On October 27 the paper appears in a format an inch longer, but with no more print than before; on December 5 the bottom margin is made much smaller. The issue of November 17 contains some curious information about postage on letters for France. If sent via England, they took ten cents up to one-third of an ounce, inclusive; sixteen cents up to one-half ounce; twenty cents up to two-thirds of an ounce; and twenty-six cents up to a full ounce. If sent directly via Brest by the Compagnie Générale Transatlantique, the price was ten cents for one-third of an ounce, and the addressee had to pay fifty centimes besides. The December 8 issue announces the departure of Derbec for two or three months in France.

Marque continued to edit the paper through the 'seventies, but left San Francisco in 1881 and did not return for several years. Derbec, in progressively poorer health and more and more engrossed in his mining ventures, neglected the *Courrier*, and left its management in the hands of Loiseau. Although the paper received a subsidy from the French government, its prosperity went into a steady decline. About 1886 it was bought by Alfred Chaigneau, the owner of the *Franco-Californien*, who merged it with his paper.

Derbec's last years were far from prosperous. The *San Francisco Call* of May 28, 1893, describes him as a patient in the French Hospital, suffering from rheumatic gout, and waiting until his eleven patents on the treatment of gold ores should be taken up by some capitalist. It tells of his early explorations in the mining country, beginning with his first trip in 1850 to the extreme southern mines, via San José, an expedition in which snow three feet deep was encountered and the hardships caused his two French companions to turn back. It speaks of his work for the *Daily Evening Picayune*. The Comstock Lode discovery in

1861 attracted him to Virginia City. He continued his mining work and explorations not only in California, but in Nevada, Colorado, and New Mexico. He established the Derbec Mines in Nevada County, and a patent was awarded to the Derbec Blue Gravel Mining Company. The mine, says the article, is still operated, but Derbec is destitute. He had a dream of eventually having millions from his patents. He believed that the entire north Pacific Coast of America was auriferous. In 1869 he had been decorated Chevalier de la Légion d'Honneur for services rendered to French citizens in California. He has been forty-three years in California, says the writer, but "cannot speak six words of English correctly." Apparently Derbec had been a patient at the hospital for some time, for in December, 1888, the notorious Barra had accused the French Mutual Benefit Society of giving him special favors there in contrast to "tant de rigueur pour les autres." He added that Derbec had never rendered any service to the colony, and that his journal was a "recueil à tartines, écho de plusieurs coteries qui payent leurs annonces plus ou moins bien, mais voilà tout!"

Within a week of the founding of Derbec's new paper, a new weekly paper was started in San Francisco. The *Alta* of May 7, 1865, states, "We have received the first number of a daily French paper, called *L'Indépendent* [sic], published in this city by Messrs Neuval and Francoeur." The date of this number, according to *Le National* of May 8, was May 3. The *Indépendant* announced itself as a "journal hebdomadaire, politique, critique et littéraire. Paraissant tous les lundis." The *Alta* was therefore in error in calling it a daily. It had eight pages of five columns each, and was published by the "Compagnie de L'Indépendant," 617 Commercial Street, opposite the *Morning Call.* The one number available (May 3, 1865) is made up as follows: some news and articles occupy the front page; a feuilleton covers pages 3 and 4; parts of pages 4 and 5, called "chronique," contain a series of anecdotes about anonymous persons; the rest of page 4, signed "Jean de Paris," has two and a half columns headed "portraits parlementaires," about Jules Favre and Ernest Picard; the rest of page 5 consists of verses, two jokes, a letter, and advertisements; and pages 6, 7, and 8 are occupied by another feuilleton and advertisements. The latter, as was frequent in those days, include some very suspicious ones of doctors. A Dr. Gibbon has two-thirds of a column in small print, and a Mr. Howard announces that he has discovered an infallible method for preventing and curing baldness; "Le secret est connu de lui seul." Some of the advertisements on page 7 are repeated on page 8.

The W.P.A. *History of Foreign Journalism in San Francisco* states that *L'Indépendant* was a continuation of Léon Chemin's *L'Union Franco-Américaine*, and that it expired in 1867. The date of the first issue makes this plausible, since the *Union* was destroyed in the Lincoln riots of April, 1865, but the paper does not mention Chemin as either editor or publisher. *Le National* of March 9, 1868, says, "Une autre feuille, *L'Indépendant*, vécut presque inaperçue et mourut après une existence de moins d'une année," which contradicts the statement in the *History* that it lasted until 1867. It is likely that *Le National* is correct, and what it says is the best information on the date of the last number of *L'Indépendant*.

(To be continued)

NOTES

14. Whose format was then four pages of seven columns each.

15. Lévy says that the *Echo* was founded by Derbec and a man named La Reintrie. Apparently the latter had little or nothing to do with its success.

16. "I address a few words of farewell to the public. I entered the journalistic field in California only at the instance of a friend who today rests in the cemetery of Guaymas. For a month I belonged to Le Présent et l'Avenir. August 16, 1853, I founded *Le Messager de San Francisco*. After ceasing to be the owner, I cease to be the editor." The reference to the friend, of course, is to the Comte de Raousset-Boulbon.

17. Dr. Toubin sailed on *L'Oscar*, one of the ships of the Lingots d'Or, from le Havre on March 18, 1852, with his wife, and was listed as "médecin du convoi." They reached San Francisco on May 31, 1853.

18. "French journalism has taken root in San Francisco. In spite of some unsuccessful attempts, it still has two representatives, *L'Echo du Pacifique* and *Le Messager de San Francisco*. We have felt that, besides these two journals, which by their alternating issues present a paper to the public each day, there was a place, not for competition, but for an addition. A review differs in many ways from a journal. More serious and more reserved, it does not venture into the bold skirmishes of polemics."

19. *E.g.*, in articles on California journalism in *Le National* in 1868, 1869, and 1870.

20. But not for *La Ruche Littéraire*, which figures correctly in the list.

21. "There is need for serious articles of general local interest, especially concerning the French; I shall supply these and I begin now. I shall speak my mind ... with the independence of a man who depends only on God and his conscience ... I affirm, that as long as there remains in me a breath of life, I shall speak the truth, without fear or favor and free from hatred and recrimination ... I shall fulfil my duty by nailing to the pillory those infamous ones who have ruined the French colony in California. ... There are thirty-five thousand of us, at least, in a sparsely populated region, and almost that number of us are dissidents. ... The reason for this harmful state of affairs is that France has never been properly represented in California. The consulate is not a businessman's portfolio."

22. "There are no underground means that are not being tried to prevent the publication of *Le Phare*. ... Everything has been used against it, because it alone does not fear to tell the truth about people, no matter how highly placed they may be. The animosity comes chiefly from above, and *L'Echo du Pacifique*, which in spite of its denials is the actual organ of the consulate, does not in any way surprise us by having inserted the notice of the person who menaces us with suspension. ... they must discredit a sheet that has committed the great crime, in their eyes, of obliging theirs to appear daily."

23. The San Francisco *Weekly Bulletin* of April 4, 1857, acknowledges receipt of the first issue.

24. His diploma of bachelier-en-droit from the University of Strasbourg, dated February 17, 1821, gives the year as 1795; but the Honolulu harbormaster's records in the Archives of Hawaii give his age as 54 in listing, among the arrivals on the French ship *Vesta,* March 10, 1851, D. Frick, Mrs. Frick, and eight children.

25. This information was given to me by Mrs. Randolph Walker of San Francisco, Frick's great-granddaughter, who showed me a copy of *Milvia.*

26. This document is now in the possession of the New York Historical Society.

27. Lévy says the new paper was established on May 7, but *Le National* of May 8 of that year gives the date as April 30, a Sunday, which seems more likely to be correct in view of the closeness in time of the statement to the event.

28. In a list of California French papers *Le National* mentions an earlier *Courrier de San Francisco.* It seems probable that this was the weekly edition of the daily *Echo du Pacifique,* and that when Derbec was forced to abandon the *Echo* he simply gave his new daily the name formerly borne by his weekly.

29. The matter which particularly aroused the wrath of the Italians is quoted in a communication by Derbec published in the San Francisco papers and repeated by the *Sacramento Union* of December 14, 1867. He had called Garibaldi "the heroical blunderer whose exaggerated patriotism has so often worked to the injury of his country," and said that he trusted Garibaldi would understand at last the hopelessness of his efforts, and that his Odyssey would end. Derbec asks, "Will this compare with the shafts aimed at the candidates in the last political campaign? Where is the man who ever thought of avenging the honor of his candidate by means of filth?"

Book of Remembrance

Established in 1945

On view in the Society's library is a finely bound "Book of Remembrance," recording the names of persons in whose memory contributions have been made to the Library Fund. Below are names that have been inscribed for 1959 and 1960.

1959

Frank N. Belgrano
Pierre Alexander Bergerot
Anson Stiles Blake
Richard O. Bliss
Charles R. Blyth
Leon Bocqueraz
Henry Hanna Brigham
Marcus Brower
Jesse Washington Carter
Henria P. Compton
Oscar Cooper
R. Tracy Crawford
Leland Cutler
Elie Dalmon
Fay Lanphier Daniels
Leroy Harris Dart
Charles Davis
David Clarence Demarest
Leslie Van Ness Denman
John Marshall Evans
Maude McKay Evans
Paul Scott Foster
John Debo Galloway
J. Duncan Gleason
Signe Berg Harding
Daisy Howard
Lorna Hunt
Charles Sexton James
Marie Louis Clayburgh Kahn
Haidee Grau Keesling
W. D. Kleinpell
Charles F. Lambert
Clarence F. Laumeister
Mary Josephine Lauppe
Ivy Lee, III
Lawrence Lovett
Angus McDonald
Edward Laird Mills
Tulita Wilcox Miner
Eugenie S. Neppert
Mrs. Richard Newhall
Phil O'Connell
Martha Hutchinson Ransome
Edward Gunther Schmiedell
Ethel R. Shorb
Harold M. Smith
Mary Swain Stabler
Alice Clay Stephenson
Harley C. Stevens
Anna Louise Green Turner
Emma Avaline Turner
Gustavus James Turner
Gustavus Samuel Turner
Caroline Wenzel
Katherine Emily Winn
William Watkin Winn

1960

Edith Winslow Allyne
Hans Barkan
Alicia L. Compton
Helen Louise Hickok Ford
Guy J. Giffen
C. Donald Goodwin
Deborah Bixby Green
Sarah H. Gregory
Jesse Hardy
Bertram James Hunter
James Jenkins
R. Wallace Johnston
Harris Crozer Kirk
Eugene Walter Levy
Genevieve S. Manchester
Ada Harvey Martin
William H. Noe
Eliza Mayhew Norton
Frank Butler Norton
Mabel Pomeroy Planer
Christopher Henry Runde
Hannah Wheeler Runde
Gertrude Sinsheimer
John Hamilton Still
Madeiline Z. Turner
Edward J. Wren

In Memoriam

MARCO NEWMARK

Rarely during one's lifetime is one apt to meet such a profound being as Marco Newmark who died in November, 1959. His love for his fellow man was all-encompassing. He was truly versatile, having made his mark as businessman, civic, communal and fraternal worker, bibliophile and historian.

His grandfather, Joseph Newmark, was one of the organizers of the Hebrew Benevolent Society of Los Angeles, which was created in 1854. Joseph Newmark also conducted the first High Holy Day services in an adobe owned by John Temple near the old Plaza. Subsequently services were held either in the Newmark home or in Judge Sepulveda's courtroom, which was made available by the civic authorities. Marco's father, Harris Newmark, came to Southern California from Prussia in 1853. He, too, was active in every facet of civic and communal affairs in the young city.

Marco was a graduate of the University of California, and continued his studies abroad in Germany. Upon his return to Los Angeles he entered into his father's business, but immediately devoted considerable time to civic and philanthropic affairs. He served as president of the Jewish Welfare Federation, of the Los Angeles Lodge of B'nai B'rith, of the Nathan Strauss Israel Society, of the Los Angeles District of the Zionist Organization of America, as director and honorary secretary of Vista Del Mar, of the Jewish Home for the Aged, and as Master of Westgate Masonic Lodge. His business associations honored him by electing him president of the Los Angeles Produce Exchange, director of the Los Angeles Merchants and Manufacturers Association, vice president of the National Grocers Association, director of the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce, and chairman of the Los Angeles Domestic Trade Committee. During World War I, he served as chairman of the Executive Committee of the Southern California Camp Library Fund of the U. S. Army. He also served as a member of the Los Angeles Municipal Housing Commission, and president of the Midnight Mission for homeless men.

Mr. Newmark served as president of the Historical Society of Southern California during the years 1940-1942. He also served as vice president in 1938-1939, and Curator from 1952-1956. Its quarterly publication is liberally sprinkled with his thirty-one literary contributions; his historical profiles are excellent thumbnail biographies of many outstanding Los Angeles citizens; his vignettes portray social conditions and incidents in the early life of El Pueblo. He had been a member of the California Historical Society since 1946.

Marco and his brother Maurice were co-editors of the book authored by their father, Harris Newmark. "Sixty Years in Southern California." This volume contains valuable source material dealing with early Los Angeles and is quoted in practically every bibliography pertaining to early Los Angeles.

Marco and his brother also edited the volume "Census of the City and County of Los Angeles for 1850." In 1955 he authored "Jottings in Southern California History," whereupon the Los Angeles City Council adopted a resolution of tribute taking cognizance of Marco's historical writings as providing valuable data regarding the early beginnings and growth of Los Angeles.

Those of us who were associated with Marco will miss him sadly. We need many such men in this fast-growing and thriving community where intelligent leadership can be utilized. We shall miss his wry sense of humor. Let me cite one example: He was invited to participate in the inaugural program upon the opening of a new branch of the Security-First National Bank. Shortly thereafter the president of the bank received a letter from Marco stating that inasmuch as the opening date fell on the High Jewish Holiday he would be unable to attend, but he would be glad to accept an invitation for December 25th.

Although failing in health for the past few years, he continued to attend the meetings of the Executive Council of the Historical Society of Southern California, and invariably left its board members in hilarious spirits as he concluded the meetings with a humorous story or incident.

The plaques and monuments in honor of Marco Newmark will not be cast in bronze. They will be found in the minds of those who remember him as he lived, spoke and acted. They will be carried as amulets against despair and as banners of affection. At the top of the State Capitol in Sacramento, an inscription reads, "Give me men to match my mountains." It is in this mold that Marco Newmark was cast.

Justin G. Turner

WILLIAM WATKIN WINN

1874-1959

William Watkin Winn, for a number of years a distinguished member of the California Historical Society, died in San Francisco on December 11, 1959, in his eighty-sixth year, after a short illness.

From a carefully prepared family genealogy, the result of many years of studious research (and which is now on permanent deposit in the archives of the California Historical Society), we glean some very interesting bits of California history from the many activities of his pioneer grandparents.

His paternal grandfather, William Maver Winn (Colonel in the Mississippi Volunteers in the Mexican War), was born in Virginia in 1810, and died in Sonoma County, 1883. At an early age he took up the trade of carpentry, and became a member of the Masters' and Joiners' Society. Later, he came to California, arriving in San Francisco on May 28, 1849. He then immediately went to Sacramento, where following his trade of carpentry he became active in the manufacture of rockers for use in the gold mines. In keeping with his many activities he became the first mayor of Sacramento, and later brigadier general of the militia. General Winn, as he was usually called, devoted much of his time and enthusiasm to the formation of the Native Sons of the Golden West, and is generally acknowledged as its founder. He also became the first president of the Sons of Revolutionary Sires at its organization in San Francisco in 1876. Winn Park at 28th and "P" Street in Sacramento is dedicated to his memory.

General Winn's son Adolphus Gustavus Winn (born Louisville, Kentucky, 1832, died Sacramento, 1910), joined his father in Sacramento in 1850, where he took up surveying. As a member of Theodore Judah's party he assisted in laying out the route of the Central Pacific Railroad. In 1862 he was engineer for Swamp Land District No. 31, the reclamation of which he handled. Beginning in 1866 and for several terms thereafter he was elected surveyor for Sacramento County.

In 1867 he married Agnes W. Hilsee, of Sacramento, the the daughter of a pioneer brick and stone mason, whose work at Fort Mason, and especially the State Capitol, revealed his superior craftsmanship. From this union was born on March 4, 1874, our Society's late member.

William Watkin Winn graduated in engineering at the University of California, class of 1896, and his first employment was in the rehabilitation of the Southern Pacific Railroad, after its acquisition by E. H. Harriman. Later, Mr. Winn's duties took him into the basin of the Colorado where it overflows into Salton Sea. From 1914 to 1924 he was connected with the engineering department of the Northwestern Pacific Railroad, serving throughout the road's highly diversified territory. Retiring in 1939, Mr. Winn carried on important research into the history of the California Society of the Sons of the Revolution, the California Genealogical Society and also was a contributor to the California Historical Society *Quarterly*. He is survived by a daughter, grandson, granddaughter, and sister.

HAROLD C. HOLMES

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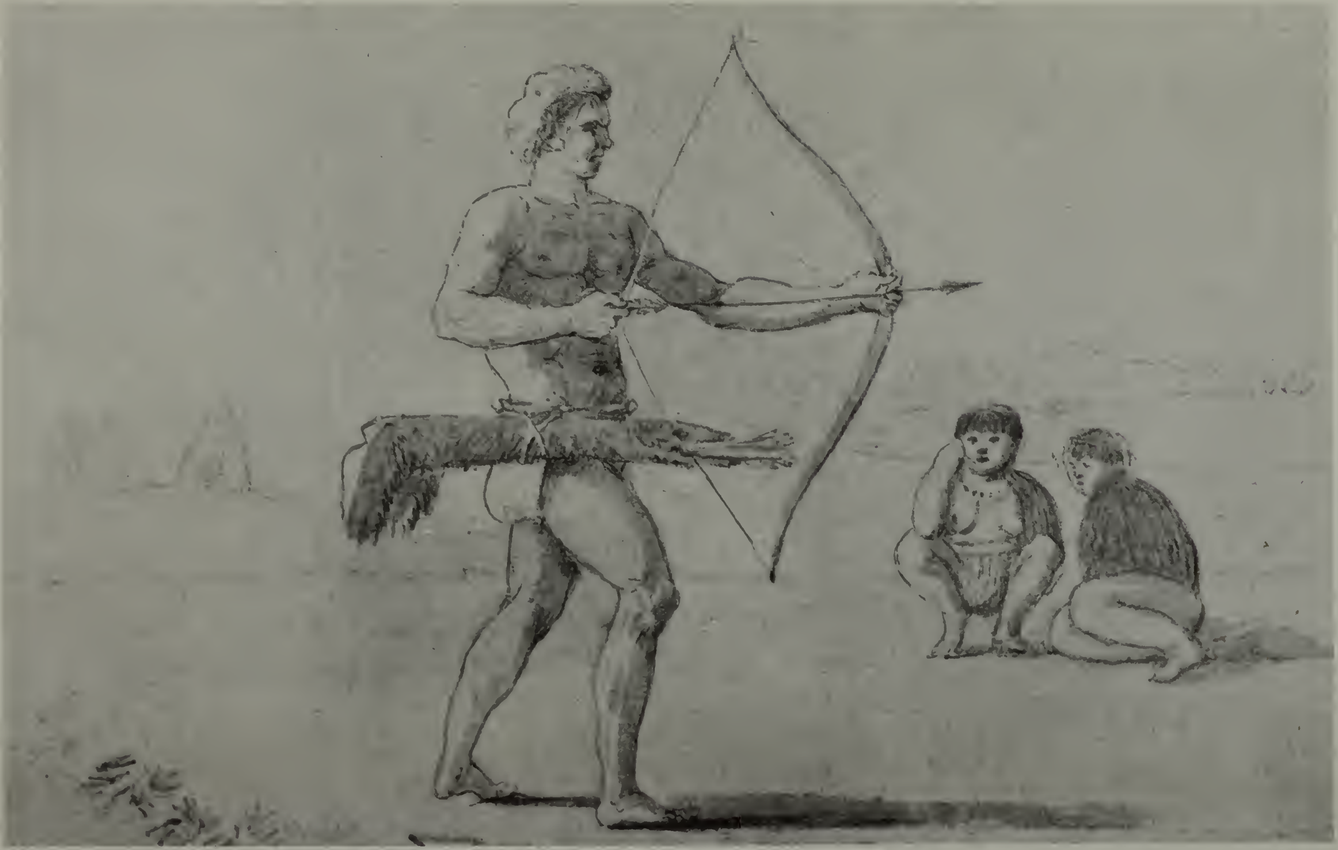
Marginalia

Frederick C. Cordes, a native Californian, attended the University of California for his academic and medical education, graduating from the Medical School in 1918. He entered the practice of ophthalmology and became associated with the University of California Medical School where he was Chairman of the Department from 1934 until 1959. In addition to having been president of all the national eye societies, Doctor Cordes has taken an active part in national societies, having served on many committees. His hobbies have been ship models, photography and Californiana. In 1939 he translated from the German "The state of California, a medico-geographical account," a book by J. Praslow. This was published in San Francisco by John T. Newbegin.

Alan K. Brown was born in San Francisco and graduated from Hamilton College in 1956. He has had a varied career which includes military service in Germany and at the Stanford University Radio Propagation Laboratory. At present he is doing graduate work in philology at Stanford University.

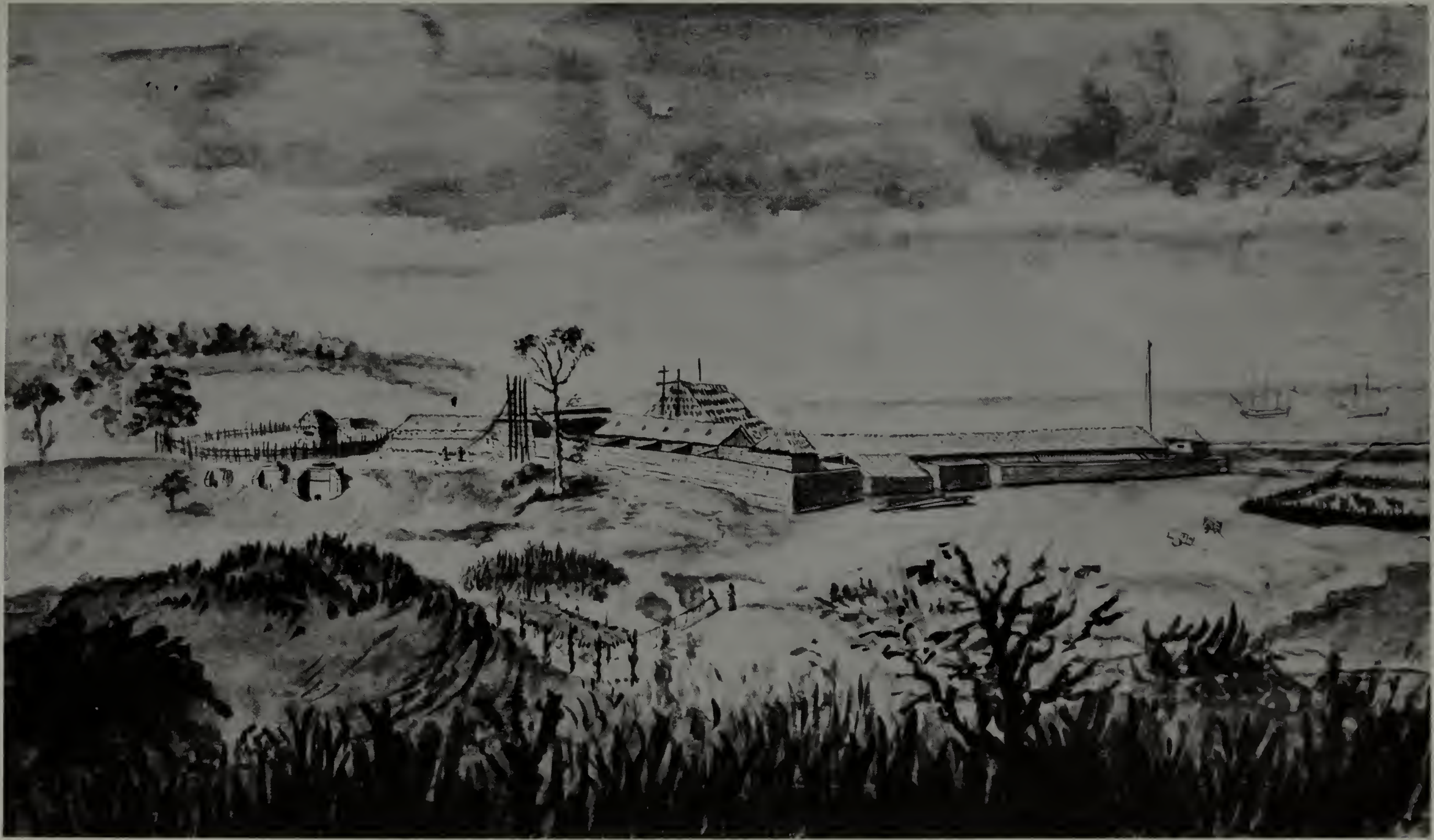
Russell M. Posner received his Ph.D. degree in American History at the University of California in Berkeley in September, 1956, his dissertation being on "State Politics and the Bank of America, 1920-1934." Since 1949, he has been teaching history at the City College of San Francisco. He has travelled extensively in Europe and is the author of "What You Would See in Czechoslovakia," *California Monthly*, November, 1949. Mr. Posner has written two previous articles for the *Quarterly:* "The Progressive Voters League, 1923-26," September, 1957; and "The Bank of Italy and the 1926 Campaign in California," September and December, 1958. He is also the author of "A. P. Giannini and the 1934 Campaign in California," Historical Society of Southern California *Quarterly*, June, 1957.

Clifford H. Bissell is Associate Professor of French, Emeritus, University of California. He studied at the Collège de Juilly, France, and the Vitzthumsches Gymnasium, Dresden, Germany, and holds a B.A. degree from Yale University, an LL.B. from Columbia University, an M.A. from Princeton and Ph.D. from the University of California. He was a member of the French faculty at the University of California from 1920 until his retirement in 1954. His work, *Prepositions in French and English*, is well known in linguistic circles.



Indian of Monterey—From the rare collection of the *Art of the Malaspina Expedition*
On view at The Mansion, July 6-11.

Photograph courtesy of Warren Howell



Presidio of Monterey—From the rare collection of the *Art of the Malaspina Expedition*
On view at The Mansion, July 6-11.

Photograph courtesy of Warren Howell

New Books

Gold vs. Grain. By Robert L. Kelley. (Glendale: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1959. 327 pp. $9.50.)

The conflict between hydraulic mining in the mountains and agriculture in the Sacramento Valley, was more than just another conflict. It had not been adequately reviewed with the perspective of time. Robert L. Kelley does so in a way that will make his book fascinating to a great many readers.

As he traces the political and legal battles, blow by major blow, one sees the process in a pioneer country of establishing law and order of a type beyond that of basically organizing a community. It concerns the resolving of problems between groups of citizens who have both mutual and severely conflicting interests. It also concerns an evolution inevitable in areas of growth.

Gold mining was the first big industry of the West. Most of the early gold was found in the beds of rivers running westward from the Sierra into the Sacramento Valley. The book points out that the source of that gold was the bed of a very ancient river running generally at right angles. Much of that ancient river bed is part of the present mountainsides and the metal is sparsely distributed. It took a new technique to mine those beds. Hydraulicking solved the problem but created a serious new problem from the enormous quantity of debris deposited in the fertile valley below. This threatened destruction to many properties that were a part of another and potentially greater industry, agriculture, and yet much of those early-day agricultural products were sold to the mining communities.

The problems of organizing to get action is clearly pictured. The story is replete with portrayals of colorful early California characters who played key rôles. Even though the various legal and political maneuvers are set forth in considerable detail, they are interestingly described and prove essential to the total picture. In addition, the book shows how the resolution of that problem has had its effect on much that we are doing today; especially in the Central Valley Water Program.

The sub-title and preface give the impression that this might be a biased history of a conflict between a small group and the general interest of the whole community. Actually, it is a most scholarly and unbiased presentation of almost a life and death struggle between one industry in one area and another industry in an adjacent area.

Most enlightening of all is the way the author permits the reader to understand better some of today's political and legal conflicts. He does so by letting one view, impersonally and impartially, an important conflict of yesterday. One wonders whether there might not have been a better ultimate solution, if the bitterness had not been so great or if there had been less sectionalism.

Rockwell Hereford

San Francisco: A Profile With Pictures. By Barnaby Conrad. (A Studio Book, New York: The Viking Press, 1959. 228 pp., index, 250 illus. $8.50.)

If the old Chinese adage still applies in 1960 that one picture is worth a thousand words, then this profusely illustrated book by Barnaby Conrad of bull-fighting fame would have required a volume of considerable size.

San Francisco: A Profile With Pictures is a welcome addition to collectors of San Franciscoana, because photographer Conrad has gathered a large number of prize-winning photographs, old and new, between the covers of a most attractive book.

In my opinion this volume shows photographic illustration has been elevated from a mechanical lifeless medium to the dignity and status of an art. As I thumbed the pages I met again local society personages, artists, politicians and industrialists, leaders of the contemporary scene. These pictures also reveal how simple and engaging most of our San Francisco personalities really are.

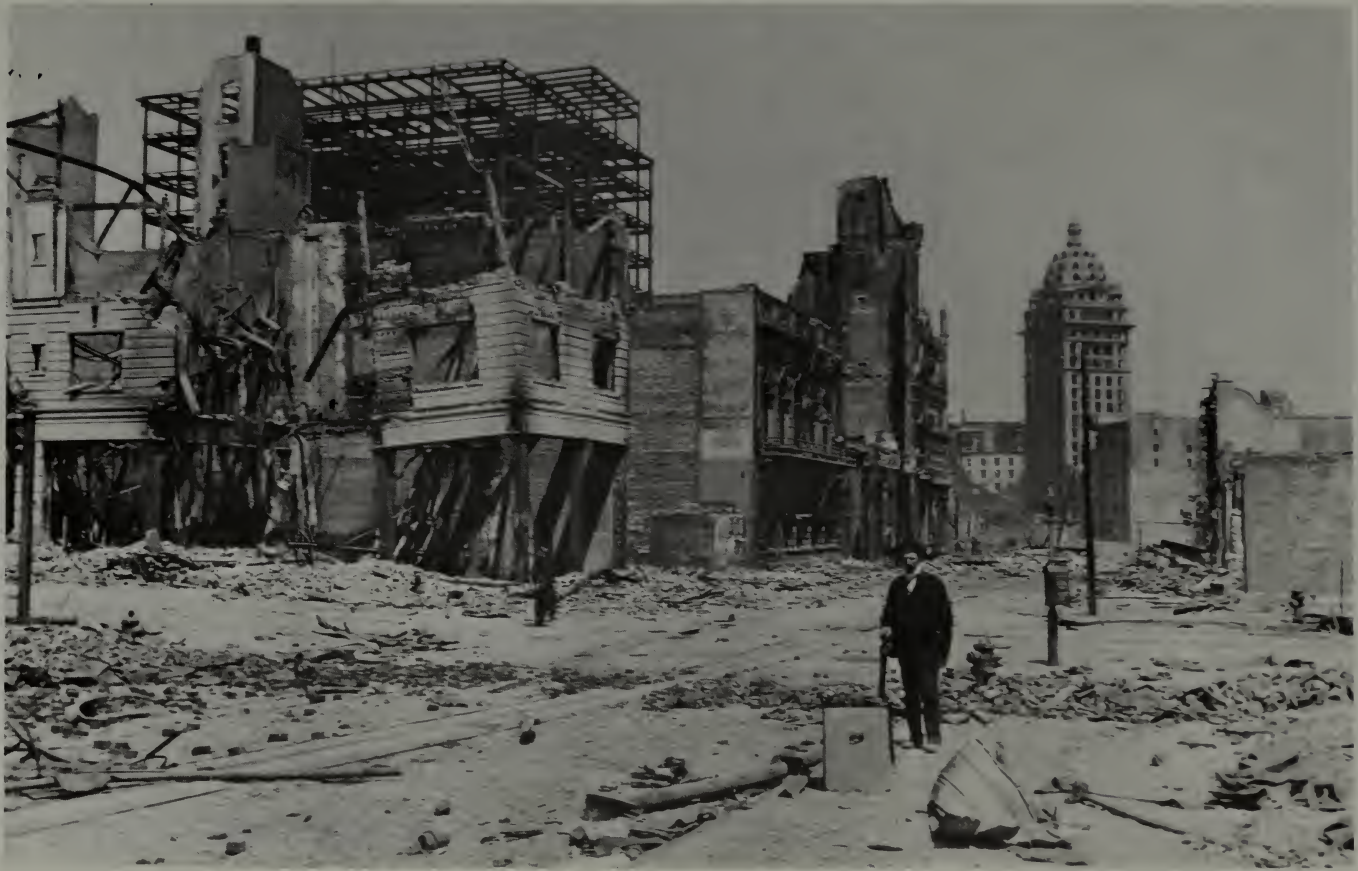
The dust jacket is attractively designed with the favorite colored picture by Ewing Galloway, taken from Goat Island, with the San Francisco-Oakland Bay Bridge in the forefront and the striking San Francisco skyline in the background.

In the prologue Mr. Conrad correctly comments that San Francisco has impressed different writers and poets in various ways. Through the medium of well chosen photographs he admirably captures the life and times of the metropolis by the Golden Gate. With an adequate commentary and captions he endeavors to re-create San Francisco's special charm. I believe he has succeeded in his efforts. Certainly he has brought enjoyment to the individual who does not include photography among his interests, and a feeling of envy of photographers. He makes no claim to writing a history of his beloved city, but he presents a profile of the city with pictures selected from a wide range of sources. His selections are excellent, and the photos superbly portray our past and present history, Chinatown architecture, bridges, cable cars, ships, North Beach, night life, and a large number of subjects of local interest. Liberally dispersed among the pages are photographs from the California Historical Society's extensive collection. The importance of this volume to the historian is to perpetuate for future generations in book form, through photographic illustrations, the lights and shades of a throbbing metropolis, the Queen City of the Pacific. One who is proud of the natural beauties of his community will thumb the pages with a feeling of nostalgia and satisfaction.

Dale Conrad likewise adds her bit by devoting a splendid chapter on San Francisco street names. Mrs. Conrad rightfully acknowledges her source material and mentions Henry Carlisle, an active member of the California Historical Society, who is recognized for his definitive booklet "San Francisco Street Names." The book includes a well drawn map of San Francisco, listing the location of important streets, buildings, and sites. Typographically the Viking Press printed a fine book.

Edgar M. Kahn

Bear Photo Service Collection of 700 glass negatives of San Francisco earthquake and fire
Presented by James T. Doty, General Manager, to Director Biggs
on April 6, 1960.



One of the photographs of the San Francisco earthquake and fire
Presented to the Society by Bear Photo Service
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September 1960

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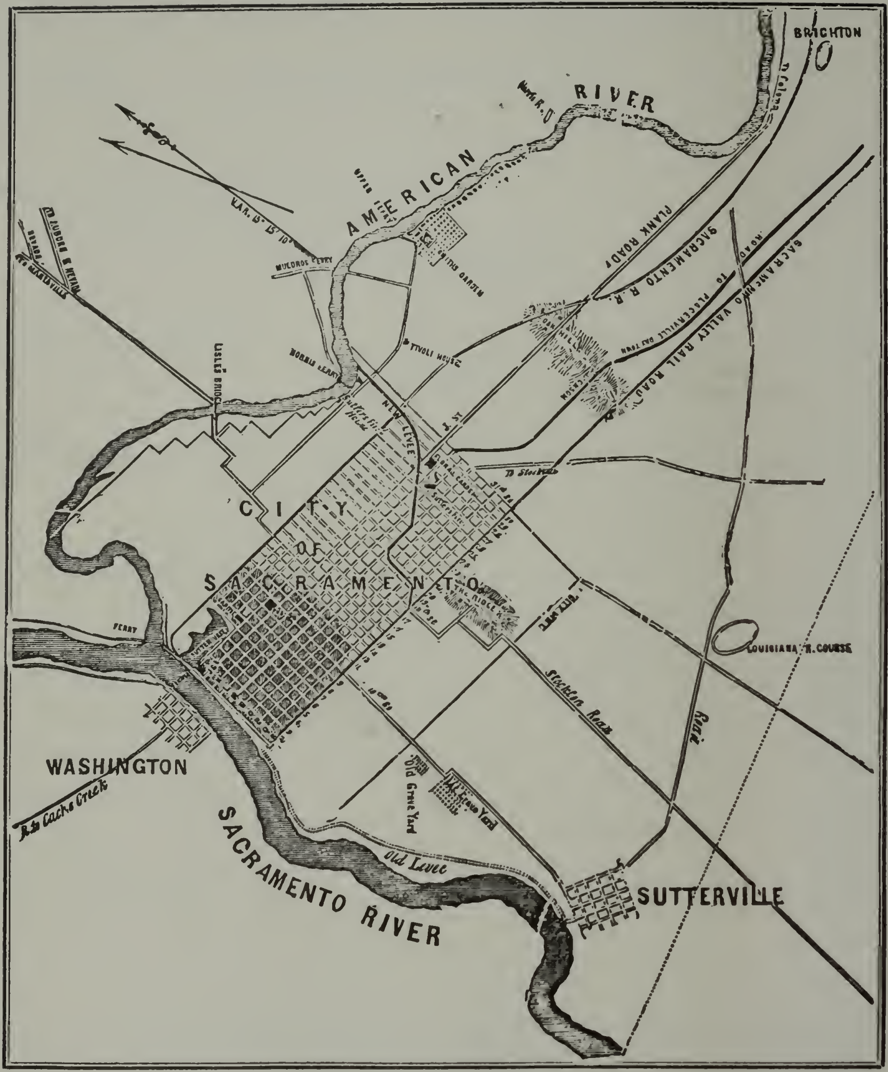
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To Stockton
CITY OF SACRAMENTO
FERRY
WASHINGTON
Rd to Cache Creek
LOUISIANA R. COURSE
Stockton Road
Road
Old Grave Yard
New Grave Yard
Old Levee
SACRAMENTO RIVER
SUTTERVILLE
LAT. 38° 35' 10"

Map from *Sacramento Illustrated*. Reprint of the original edition issued by Barber and Baker in 1855, Sacramento Book Collectors Club, 1950

Architectural Legacy of Sacramento[1]

A Study of 19th Century Style

By Joseph Armstrong Baird, Jr.

During the latter half of the 19th century, Sacramento developed into a prosperous river town, which became the capital of the new state of California.[2] Unlike Washington, D. C., Sacramento had no original town plan of elaborate late Baroque design to give it a special governmental majesty. The plan of the town had been created in 1848 by Captain William H. Warner,[3] U. S. Army, for John Sutter, whose fort had made the region habitable. It is an historic *cliché* that the gold discovered at Sutter's mill in Coloma, California, was to destroy Sutter's hold over this vast area and to make Sacramento a boom town, giving it an immediate importance in the state over its more ancient rivals. The plan of the new town was a regular grid—the classic plat of so many American towns and cities,[4] bounded on the west by the Sacramento River and north roughly by the American River. There was no fixed eastern or southern boundary, although 19th-century Sacramento did not expand much beyond the alphabetical limitations of its lettered streets (east and west) nor much beyond 31st Street (north and south). Most of the commerce of the town was concentrated in a relatively small area near the river, enclosed mainly by I and M Streets and slowly moving eastward from the Embarcadero to 16th Street as the century waned.[5] This old commercial quarter[6] was surrounded by residential architecture of considerable variety, although the practical problems of constant flood danger gave much of Sacramento's domestic architecture a special character in the form of raised living quarters with high staircases leading to the main floor.

Until World War I, Sacramento maintained its air of an active western river town, with a special architectural combination of stylistic and technical details from east, south, and midwest. By 1854, when the city became the capital of California, a new type of building had been added to the existing commercial and domestic architecture; and by 1874 a stately domed Capitol, one of the most distinguished American versions of the Baroque Classicism which had inspired the national Capitol, dominated the skyline of the city. This new structure also necessitated modification of the town plan, in the form of a spacious Capitol Park,[7] occupying many city blocks at the head of 10th and M Streets. M Street —called Capitol Avenue beyond the Capitol to the east—became an axis,[8] introducing in a modest way the *grand boulevard* and the official focus of Second Empire Paris to Sacramento. Capitol Park, with its horticultural variety mirroring the enthusiasm of English gardeners of the 19th century (down to the great Deodars from India), was the first of a large number of new city parks; these and the superb tree-lined streets gave later Sacramento a midwestern tranquillity and almost garden-city character. The effect of the new city was horizontal and green, pierced by a few spires and domes—an oasis of shade in the hot windy Sacramento River Valley.

Much of the ephemeral early architecture in cloth and wood (particularly the historically interesting structures of 1849)[9] was destroyed by disastrous general fires in the 1850s. It was almost immediately replaced by new structures—some of brick, with cast-iron fronts growing in popularity.[10] Revisions and new building continued more slowly in the early 1860s, for national and local events made this a less active construction era. After the Civil War, however, there was a strong upsurge in all types of architecture. Many of the great private mansions of Sacramento date from 1865 to 1880; much of the simpler domestic architecture is of the later 1860s through the 1880s. Hotels, banks, and other commercial structures were raised or renovated in the period up to 1894 (the date of the fine Richardsonian "old" Post Office, which marks a *terminus ante quem* for Victorian Sacramento).

From 1894 until 1914, following the general American trend to a florid Classicism inspired by the World Columbian Exposition, a more imposing architecture began to appear in downtown Sacramento. Roman banks, a Renaissance public library, and a Classicist Baroque city hall and county court house all attest the more sophisticated and academic tone of the period.[11] This set the stage for an artful eclecticism which was especially developed after World War I. Emphasis on Classicist detail had been consistent in old Sacramento, partly following the fashions of the East and South, partly due to its bureaucratic temper. There is a distinct purity to certain parts of the buildings of the 1870s and 1880s, even though tempered by the Mannerist-Victorian ornament popular in those decades.

During the 1920s, a number of half-hearted skyscrapers[12] (unappetizing sandwiches with classicizing crusts and a uniform fill of steel, concrete and terra cotta) gave Sacramento an adventitious modernism—comparable to the effect of another state capital, the one at Lincoln, Nebraska, which Sacramento resembles in its flat site and plains' climate. This mock big-city skyline bore little relation to the lightly accented horizontal plane of its origins; ultimately this "modernism" succeeded only in making Sacramento a banal copy of numerous contemporary American cities.

During and after World War II, the economic dissolution of the old commercial quarter was accomplished; business had moved to the neon-rimmed splendors of upper K Street, with the tiled outposts of the Woolworth Empire and plaster Rococo "movie" houses instead of the sturdy cast-iron and stuccoed brick façades of the later 19th century on lower K Street. The once active commercial district near the river became one of the most sordid skid-rows in the United States, a monumental area for research in social pathology. The rows of streets to the south, with their fascinating variations of the bracketed "stick style" houses of the 1870s and early 1880s and their dramatic *enfilades* of rickety wooden staircases, have been gradually cleared to make way for large-scale expansion of the state's officialdom. Fluorescent modern with a discreet touch of the Roman Forum and *Unter den Linden* now begins to replace the economic embarrassment of minority slum housing.

The possibilities of preserving what remains, and of rebuilding what has disappeared, are currently being considered by various state and local agencies. A thoughtful report on the problems involved suggests that a special historical zone be established in the old commercial quarter, that isolated monuments outside this zone be preserved, and that part of the area facing the river be rebuilt—with redevelopment of the river front itself into a park.[13]

Near the southwest corner of N and 3rd Streets (1402-1404 3rd) there still stands a double house with cast-iron balcony, dating from the early 1860s.[14] Its compact character, with square hipped roof suggestive of the later Georgian period, and its stuccoed brick construction, make it an agreeable solution to mass housing without the monotony of the row as seen in Philadelphia and Baltimore. The cornice without brackets and the relatively simple lintels and moldings give this house a sober classical air which the more decorative ironwork modifies only slightly. It is certainly a part of the classical revival period although without overt Roman or Greek detail; it is related in a general way to the extremely simple and well-proportioned stores[15] of the northern mines built in the 1850s between Sacramento and the mountains, with their tall door and window openings and their forthright material elegance in stone rather than the brick seen here. It is sad that so few houses of this type survive, as they provide an especially admirable solution for the American desire for detached or semi-detached homes in the city without the exaggerated front lawn space of the midwestern urban tradition. Such houses were, unfortunately, susceptible to flood damage; and no intermediate type with the same fine proportions (like the squared raised cottages of Louisiana of about the same period)[16] seems to have been evolved.

The standard house of the post civil-war era in Sacramento was a raised cottage of much narrower proportions than this double house. In isolation such houses have slight architectural pretensions, but in a group, as at 509-511 N Street, they have a distinct charm. Some have full porches, others only a stoop with a wooden canopy over the door. Lingering but attenuated Classicism is seen in the tall, slender columns of the porches. Most of the houses are of wood, although some are of brick. The wooden cottages have brackets supporting a deep cornice, which gives these very modest houses a more aggressive play of light and shade and suggests the common false-fronted stores of the developing west. Very few row houses of this type remain on the west side of the Capitol, but modifications of it can be found on the streets south and east of 10th.

Two houses on O Street (numbers 819 and 823) suggest the possible variations with these forms a little later in the 19th century. Number

819, built in 1863 by J. T. Pike, a carriage maker, has the heavy paired brackets of the 1860s under the cornice, simple stone lintels over door and windows in the brick façade, and colonnettes of a pseudo-Gothic type. This attenuation might be attributed to the delayed effect of early 19th-century Classicist slenderness; more exactly, it is the manifestation of Mannerist proportions in so much of the northern California architecture[17] of the 1860s. The trellises before the porch, probably of the same period, enhance the simplified Gothic-Oriental effect of the porch. Number 823 O Street is of a more standard type: the turned colonnettes and lattice work of the second-story porch exhibit one of the endless variations on wooden ornament in this era.[18] The bay on the left of the house became common in Sacramento in the later 1870s.

One of the richest examples of a house of the late 1880s is that at 1403 H Street, obviously a more costly version of the houses of an earlier period, having double bays and a projecting window on the lower right side. The ornament still reveals the taste of the time,[19] but is moving gradually to both a stronger Baroque character and to the Classicism of the 1890s. The center pilasters in the second story are quite correct, and the pediments above have a full complement of dentils. The picturesque massing of the house might qualify it for inclusion in the so-called Queen Anne style of the East, as well as its return to the purity of Georgian classical details; but it lacks the turrets usually associated with Queen Anne. It is altogether a robust masterpiece of the late Victorian carpenter and molding maker, spiced with the color fantasy of the stained-glass craftsman.

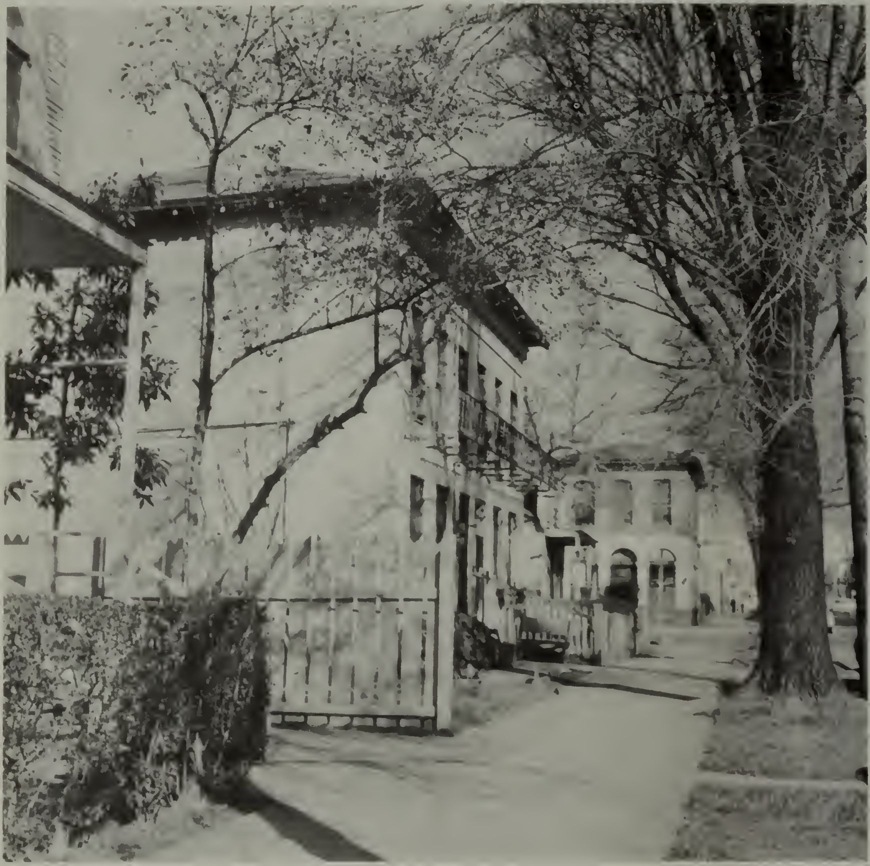
The great mansions of the period are more elegant and more architecturally ordered. The earliest is the Stanford House[20] at the SE corner of 8th and N Streets built in 1857 for Shelton C. Fogus. The effect of the house has been modified by the rebuilding of 1872 which raised the entire structure one story and added a mansard roof. The quoining at the corners and the careful attention to egg and dart molding and modillions under the cornice reveal a very purist flavor. However, the treatment of the windows—with pushed-up cornices having massed ornament above and human-faced consoles below—is paralleled by a number of commercial structures in Sacramento of this time; this reveals the interest in a Mannerist-Baroque ornamental repertoire which continued into the 1860s and 1870s. The very classical porch is of the original home,[21] although a number of these fairly correct Corinthian columns appear on houses built towards the end of the 1870s.

The Crocker Art Gallery,[22] on O Street between 2nd and 3rd and dating from 1873, is the most distinguished building of the 19th century in Sacramento. Its exterior is handled with superb assurance; its interior has massive doors of rare imported woods, a double curved stair, and a splendid ballroom with magnificently fitted library beyond. The gallery proper, now reconstituted as it was in the 19th century, occupies a special area on the second floor, just above the ballroom.[23] The general sobriety of the exterior design links this building to the Italian villas of the 1850s in the eastern states; but the façade massing is essentially Baroque, and the details of façade and side-elevations are based on later 16th-century Italian prototypes, with a strong Mannerist flavor in the blind niches and high proportions of the windows.[24] It is unfortunate that the present structure has the modernized Crocker home as part of its total mass; although the home was always attached to the gallery, the two structures were originally complementary in style, without the contrast of neutral heaviness now in the "modernized" Crocker home.

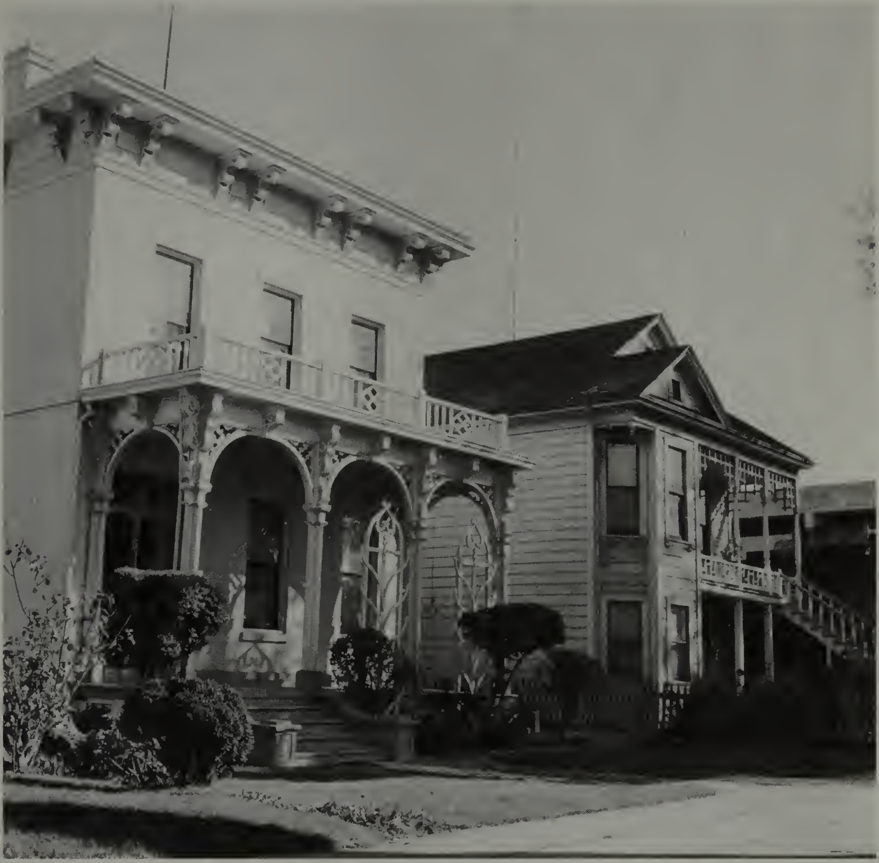
The present Governor's Mansion at the SW corner of 16th and H Streets, built for Albert Gallatin,[25] in 1877-78, by Nathaniel Goodell, has always been the most publicized residence of the city. It is certainly the best example in Sacramento of the gradual change from the regular massing of the Italian villa and the Second Empire buildings of the 1860s to the irregular, asymmetric structures of the later Victorian period,[26] a type which might be best described as late Charles Addams, since its individual components vary and its ornament is often difficult to describe in less than rhapsodic terms. Notable, however, is the prevalence of the mansard roof, the bay, and the mannered flatness of much of the scroll ornament. Here too, as in the earlier Stanford House, severely correct Corinthian columns support the porch.[27] This mansion, despite its problems as an efficient focus for a contemporary governor's social life, is a beguiling piece of the Victorian scene; perhaps it might function better as a museum of 19th-century Sacramento than as a residence. It is difficult to do justice to the commercial architecture of old Sacramento; so much of it is in a parlous state that does not respond kindly to even sympathetic photography.[28] Among the most important historical structures of this type is the Lady Adams Building[29] at 115 K Street, built in 1852. Strip cornice sections above the second story windows and coffers beneath them give the building a large measure of the dignity which its contemporaries lacked. Next to it at 111½ K Street is a building now called the Shasta House. It is a characteristic cast-iron on brick façade of the later 1850s, of which innumerable similar examples exist on J Street nearby. Much of the total character of this part of Sacramento has disappeared with the removal of the fixed canopies or porches which overhung the streets in front of the buildings,[30] as well as the gradual stripping of balconies and cornices from their façades. There is a nakedness and lack of protection from the intense Sacramento Valley sun in the present condition of this area, which does both an historical and climatological injustice to the quarter.[31] From the early 1870s there remains the former Sacramento Bank—now a hardware store—at the corner of 5th and J Streets. Its banded cast-iron pilasters suggest the gradual triumph of Mannerist forms over the Classicist Corinthian pilasters of the 1850s. The second and third stories have a series of arches of two types, with blind reveals between the windows recalling the 16th-century prototypes of so much design of this period; the cornice has been removed.

Among the more important civic structures of the 1880s is the Cathedral of the Blessed Sacrament or St. Mary's (1886-1889),[32] at the corner of 11th and K Streets. Very faintly Gothic in part, as the rose window and the paired windows, it has a strong Classicist Baroque flavor which is more Georgian than Roman, especially in its use of staged towers. Like the somewhat earlier Cathedral of New Orleans[33] this church attempts a mixture of styles which is not wholly satisfying; the interior is even more bizarre.[34] Undoubtedly the best commercial structure of the late 19th century in Sacramento is the so-called "old" Post Office[35] at the corner of 7th and K Streets, dating from 1894. Its massive arched entrance and tall rectangular, grouped windows, strongly reminiscent of Richardson's designs for the Crane Library at Quincy, Mass., 1883, are surrounded by carefully worked rustication in red stone. The ornament is admittedly unworthy of Richardson, being jejeunely repetitive; but the contrast of textured surfaces is ably planned. The building has high quality, in both its material execution and its general design, and it certainly should be maintained for the future as well as it has been in the past. It is one of the rare examples of an authentically conceived Richardsonian building west of Chicago and bears an important design relationship locally to the V. C. Morris store built by Frank Lloyd Wright in Maiden Lane, San Francisco, in 1949.

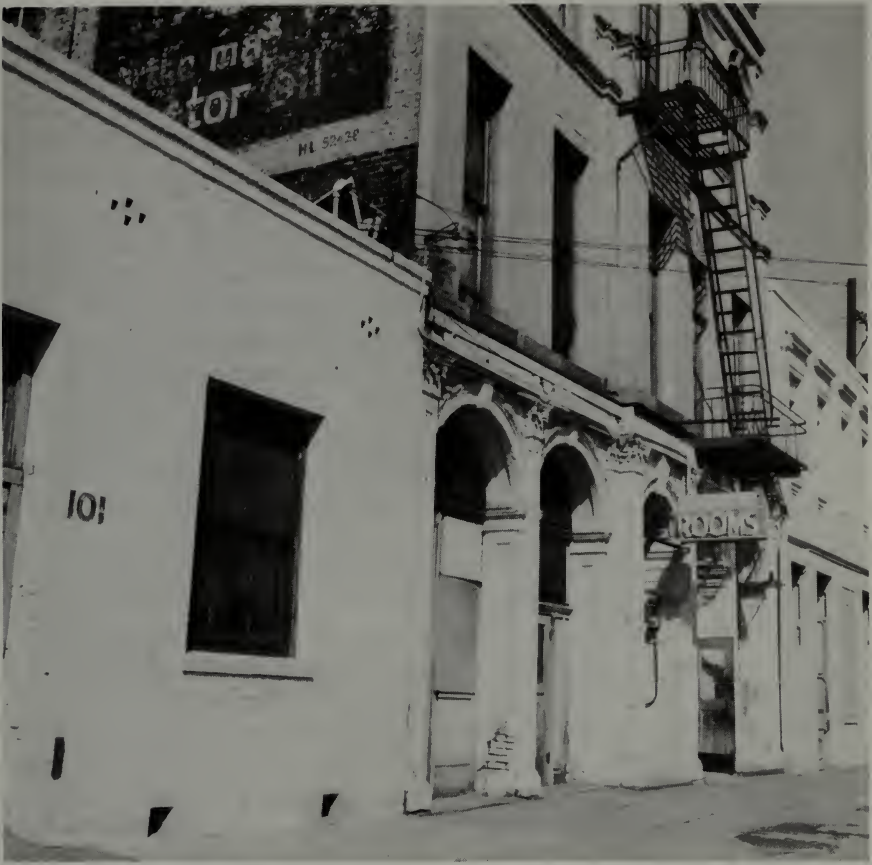
It is fitting to conclude this analysis of style in 19th-century Sacramento architecture with the Capitol of the state of California. Built mainly between 1861 and 1874 by a group of supervising architects working from the plans of M. F. Butler,[36] it is an excellent example of modified Roman and French Baroque Classicism, following partly the precedent of Walter's revisions of the national Capitol. The use of native granite as a facing of the first story, the remarkable interior construction of brick and iron, and the massive cast-iron columns of the upper porticoes give this building a technical interest of a high order. The dome is a poor conclusion to the noble lower parts, although considered as a separate unit it is a good Victorian version of Bramante's Tempietto or the domes of Wren's St. Paul's and Soufflot's Pantheon; it is here, too, that the interior fails. The high corridors which encircle the dome, and the brilliantly balanced doors of enormous size, lead only to the disappointing revised area beneath the dome. From the back (east side) the building now presents a view totally different from that of the later 19th century; an undistinguished addition juts out from the area which formerly came to a more appropriate climax in the semicircular east part housing the State Treasury and later the State Library. Unfortunately, too, the sculpture and painting which decorate the building are of exceedingly uneven quality; yet the ultimate effect of the building, set behind rows of trees, is fine. It has that spark of creative imagination entirely lacking in the more correct State buildings which flank it to the west, with their studied Greco-Roman accuracy and the incongruity of a foyer of Doric columns in black marble for contemporary law courts and a library. The Capitol represents that quiet Victorian vigor which pervades 19th-century Sacramento, linked to a technological progressiveness which makes many of old Sacramento's buildings something more than objects in a museum of style.



1402-1404 Third Street, Sacramento (*ca.* 1860)



819 and 823 O Street, Sacramento (1863 and *ca.* 1875)



Lady Adams building *(extreme right)* and present Shasta House,
115 and 111½ K Street, Sacramento. (1852 and *ca.* 1858)

NOTES

1. This article is particularly relevant to the present interest in the preservation of old Sacramento. For assistance in locating buildings, I wish to thank Hero E. Rensch, who has made a careful survey of historic buildings in the old commercial quarter of the city, financed by a special State of California appropriation. Mr. Rensch's survey appeared originally as part II of a special report issued by the Division of Beaches and Parks of the State of California; part I of that report, by Carroll D. Hall, Curator at Sutter's Fort (Sacramento), is concerned with recommendations for the preservation of old Sacramento and the costs of such preservation. Sections of part I of that report are summarized in certain of the following footnotes and will be referred to as Hall: I; part III covers a projected historical museum. I am indebted to the librarians of the California Room at the State Library, Sacramento, especially Allan Ottley, for help in locating research sources. Acknowledgment should be made, also, to the architects, draughtsmen, city planners, civic and state officials (particularly Dr. Aubrey Neasham) who have been interested in the problems of old Sacramento, and who are now actively implementing the preservation plan embodied in Mr. Hall's and Mr. Rensch's reports.

2. Sacramento became the capital of California in 1854, following provisional capitals in Monterey, San Jose, Vallejo, Benicia (where the handsome Greek Revival State Capitol building of 1852 has recently been renovated) and Sacramento. Numerous surveys of Sacramento's architectural developments have been published by local newspapers, particularly the *Sacramento Bee: Sacramento Guide Book,* 1939, chiefly researched by the late Caroline Wenzel, and especially *Centennial Album,* Feb. 25, 1957; two recent supplements (March 13 and May 15, 1960) have provided specific ideas (notably those of Dunbar Beck) for rehabilitation of the old commercial quarter and adjacent areas. See also the following important studies of local history:

1. Dr. John F. Morse, *History of Sacramento, in Colville's Sacramento Directory for the Year 1853-54,* Printed at the Union Office, Sacramento, 1853.
2. Barber and Baker, *Sacramento Illustrated,* Sacramento, 1855.
   (Both of these items are available in 20th-century editions.)
3. William J. Davis, *An Illustrated History of Sacramento County,* Chicago, Lewis Publishing Co., 1890.
4. G. Walter Reed, *History of Sacramento County,* Los Angeles, Historic Record Company, 1923. (An excellent modernization and enlargement of Davis.)
5. J. W. Wooldridge (editor), *History of the Sacramento Valley,* Chicago, Pioneer Historical Publishing Co., 1931, 3 vols. (A reworking of Davis and Reed, less complete than the latter.)
6. Hoover and Rensch, *Historic Spots in California,* Stanford University Press,

1932-1937, 3 vols.; reissued as one volume, 1948 (bibliography on Sacramento County, pp. 149-150).

3. Barber and Baker, *op. cit.*: "In December, 1848, Capt. Wm. H. Warner made a survey and laid out the present city of Sacramento. . . . It is regularly laid out at right angles by streets eighty feet in width and situated . . . one hundred and thirty miles from the sea. The grade of the city is but nine feet above the level of the sea." Captain John A. Sutter soon gave up his interests in this new city to his son, John Jr., newly arrived from Europe. Litigation between John Jr. and General McDougall, who had leased the ferry privileges over the Sacramento River at the site of the new town, caused the younger Sutter to turn his attention to his father's Sutterville, three miles south. The latter town proved inconclusive, but Sacramento developed rapidly, particularly after the gold discovery. Captain Warner was killed by Indians at Goose Creek in 1849, while surveying a possible rail route through the mountains.

4. As in Philadelphia; but cf. the proposed plan in 1818 for Cairo, Illinois, and especially the plan in 1850 for the same town, in John Reps "Great Expectations and Hard Times: The Planning of Cairo, Illinois," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, vol. XVI, no. 4 (December, 1957), figs. 1 and 7. Fig. 1 and particularly fig. 2 of Reps (the latter illustrating the plan of Strickland and Taylor for Cairo of 1838) approximate features forced on Sacramento by the presence of the new Capitol.

5. 7th Street marked the nominal boundary of the commercial quarter of the city in the 1870s; 12th Street, in the 1890's; 16th Street by the time of World War I.

6. See Rensch's research on ownership of buildings, changes of street numbers, etc.

7. "Original plantings at the Capitol Park were made in 1870-71 in an area extending from L to N, Tenth to Twelfth Streets. Later the park was extended eastward to Fifteenth Street." *Sacramento Guide Book*, p. 155; Hoover and Rensch, *op. cit.*, 1948 ed., p. 147. See also the *WPA Guide to California*, New York, Hastings House, 1939, p. 253.

8. This simple, straight-line street axis was slightly modified in the 1920s when a circular plaza with a timorously scaled fountain in its center was inserted between 9th and 10th Streets, before the two new state buildings constructed in 1928.

9. It has been proposed (Hall: I, p. 11) that the section of Front Street between I and J should be reconstructed as it was in 1849: ". . . replicas of 1849 buildings (as depicted in contemporary prints), on the original sites. These structures would be used for commercial, cultural and historical purposes, such as shops, inns, restaurants, offices, and meeting places for historical societies or other groups."

10. Barber and Baker, *op. cit.*: "By the end of December, but one month after

the wide-spread calamity [that is, the fire of 1852], seven hundred and sixty-one buildings were erected, of which sixty-five were of brick." Bogardus' experiments with cast iron, dating from 1848, are not generally apparent in Sacramento until some years later; *e.g.*, foundry marks on the former Latham Building on J Street read 1858 or 1859. "Two foundries" are reported in Colville's Sacramento Directory of 1862.

11. The City Hall was built between 1909 and 1910, on I Street, between 9th and 10th; the County Court House was dedicated June 21, 1913, replacing the first County Court House by A. A. Bennett of 1850-51 (which had served the State Legislature in 1852 and 1854, but had burned in 1854) and the second County Court House of 1854 (September 27 to December 29, 1854) by D. Farquarson, all on I Street between 6th and 7th; the Public Library dates from 1918.

12. Such as the Elks Building of 1926 on the east side of 11th Street, between I and J.

13. Hall: I, p. 11, sets the following rules for his recommendations:

a. The establishment of an historical zone of preservation.
b. Rigid architectural control to preserve exterior features of structures in keeping with the historical purposes and atmosphere, through the passage of zoning laws, to be a major objective of this zone.
c. Any major through-traffic arteries to be placed in the zone of preservation shall be constructed in such a manner that they will least violate the historical values and atmosphere of this zone [unfortunately, almost impossible to control: Baird].
d. The availability of public and private funds to bring these projects into being, and the maintenance of a proper balance between the two to preserve old Sacramento as a part of the living community.

The total cost of various recommendations for rehabilitating old Sacramento (Hall: I, p. 16) amounts to $2,656,000; a large part of this cost is related to the real estate values of the property, based partly on estimates of the Sacramento Redevelopment Agency. The balance, covering the restoration of eight buildings and the reconstruction of nine others, plus funds for maintenance, is based on estimates prepared by the Division of Architecture, State Department of Public Works.

14. *Sacramento Guide Book*, p. 205: "At 1400-1402 [read 1402-1404] Third Street is a two story brick house of the 60's with grilled [sic] iron balcony where, according to old residents, lived Michael Coffee on one side, and, on the other, a volatile Frenchman, who, in a moment of depression plunged into the wine vat in his back yard and was drowned."

15. These buildings have been well described in the *Geologic Guidebook along Highway 49-Sierran Gold Belt: The Mother Lode Country*, September 1948, State of California, Division of Mines, pp. 91-164: see especially the Ginocchio Store of Butte City (1852) and the ruined front of L. Mayer and Co. at Mokelumne Hill (1854).

16. Parlange in Pointe Coupée Parish, Louisiana, is a larger, longer and more elegant version of the type. J. Frazer Smith, *White Pillars*, New York, William Helburn, 1941, pp. 186-189. The exterior stairs to the second floor were usually well under the overhanging eaves in the true "Acadian" farm house of the 18th century in Louisiana. J. Frazer Smith, *l.c.*, p. 156.

17. The Italian Villa of the East and Midwest was more commonly represented in Northern California by Italianizing commercial buildings, such as hotels or Odd Fellows' buildings, which draw upon Mannerist sources in the 16th century; note the IOOF Building of 1860 in Marysville.

18. The sources of this wooden house type, the "Stick-style" of Scully, can be seen particularly well in A. F. Oakey, *Building a Home*, New York, D. Appleton and Co., 1883, figs. 25-31.

19. G. B. Croff, *Progressive American Architecture*. New York, 1875. Elliot Evans, Curator of the Society of California Pioneers, has described the architecture of Sacramento with its "assertive over-window decoration and its consistent robustness in turned and applied 'gingerbread' of the 80's and 90's"; Evans has also noted that the cornices and brackets of the 1860s and 1870s "are discernibly heavier than in other California locations." The "widespread use of stuccoed or painted brick and the unusually large windows" are salient features of Sacramento architecture.

20. The house was acquired by Stanford, from Fogus, in 1861 at a cost of $8,000; it was from this new home that Leland Stanford is said to have rowed to his inauguration as Governor in January, 1862, during the flood. The original two-storied home was continually modified during the 1860s by the Stanfords; the wing at the east served as the Governor's office for a time. In 1900 Mrs. Stanford (née Jane Lathrop) gave the Sacramento house, with an endowment of $75,000, to the Roman Catholic Diocese of Sacramento. It is now a home for girls, administered by the Sisters of Social Service. The two Orders which have occupied the home since 1900 have gradually refurnished the parlors and family dining room of the main floor as they were in the 19th century, as well as the bedroom where Leland Stanford, Jr., is said to have been born in 1868. Cf. also the "Photo-Data-books" on the Stanford House, the Crocker Art Gallery and house, and the Governor's Mansion, prepared by Joseph Baird for the Historic American Building Survey, Library of Congress, Washington, D. C., 1960.

21. Illustrated in a wood engraving in the *California Farmer*, July, 1862; the capitals of the Corinthian columns here and on later houses are uniformly of cast iron.

22. Judge Edwin Bryant Crocker, brother of Charles, acquired a home in Sacramento at the southwest corner of 3rd and O Streets. To this was added an elegant Italianate building, 1873 ff., which is today called the Crocker Art Gallery. Although it was built in part to house a collection of paintings and drawings purchased in Germany by the Judge, and first shown in San Francisco in 1871,

the "Art Gallery" was actually an entertainment center for Mrs. Crocker. This handsome building, 62 feet wide and 122 feet long, was designed by Seth Babson, an associate of Nathaniel Goodell, builder of the Governor's Mansion; John Coffey apparently executed the double staircase, with its brass fittings. The general supervisor of construction was a Welshman, William Davis. Walls were of brick, 30 inches thick at the base and 24 inches thick above the main floor; the exterior, with its superb "Villa" character, was of painted stone and stucco (now rose-grey), with iron shutters and a slate roof. A particularly striking combination of woods (black walnut, Honduras mahogany, bird's-eye maple, laurel, and myrtle) was used for doors and dado panelling; the library bookcases, at the rear of the first floor, are among the finest of their kind in the west. The total cost of this building was $285,000. Judge Crocker died in 1875; his widow gave the building to the city of Sacramento in 1885. The former Crocker house, adjacent and connected by passageways to the "Gallery," was used after 1885 by the Fairhaven Home for Girls; later it was vacated and was seriously vandalized. The city of Sacramento purchased it from the Crocker heirs in 1913, and in 1922 appropriated $25,000 to "renovate" the house.

23. The opening of the floor of the Gallery itself into an oval port, so that the ballroom might be viewed from above, dates from some time after the construction work on the building.

24. The "Villa" type of residence, so well described and illustrated in Calvert Vaux, *Villas and Cottages*, New York, Harper and Brothers, 1864 (first ed., 1857), had its principal vogue, of course, in the 1850s and 1860s in the East and Midwest. The house on p. 326 of Vaux's book is perhaps closer to the Crocker than the more celebrated "Marine Villa." It is interesting to note in passing that one of the earliest references to the "Villa" in the 19th century, in John Papworth, *Rural Residences,* London, Ackerman, 1818, plate XVII ("A villa designed as the residence of an artist") should have the association with the arts which Judge Crocker later fancied in his Gallery. The third Sacramento High School, built in 1865 at 7th and G Streets (now destroyed), represented a chronologically earlier approach to Villa styling in Sacramento, but without the consummate finesse of the Crocker building. An even less refined treatment of High Renaissance and Mannerist Italian sources, in the Villa manner, but contemporary with the Crocker building was the Western Hotel at 209-221 K Street, rebuilt after a fire of 1875.

25. Gallatin, manager and partner in the firm of Huntington, Hopkins and Company, spent $60,000 on the house. The California State Division of Architecture at Sacramento has a copy of the builder's (Reese) ledger, itemizing costs. In the late 1880s it was sold to Joseph Steffens, Sacramento merchant and father of Lincoln Steffens. In 1903 the state acquired it for $32,000. The interior was remodeled and two rooms were added at the west. In 1943 and later the house was redecorated and repaired.

26. There are suggestions here of Vaux's "marine villa with tower," *op. cit.*, p. 342. It has still the more regular plan of the 18th century, albeit turned on its side. The Governor's Mansion reflects the "picturesque," irregular massing and plan of Papworth's "villa" and Gothic houses—not the symmetric, formal Renaissance-oriented plans of most classic American "villas," and the Crocker Art Gallery. It is not, however, a definitive example of Second Empire or Ornamented style, despite its mansards and mannered ornament.

27. These classically correct Corinthian columns on porches appear in England in row houses of London of the 1840s and 1850s (Hitchcock, *Early Victorian Architecture in Britain*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1954, vol. II, XIII 6, XIV 15, 18, 19). An intermediate stylistic stage between the revised Stanford House of 1872 and the Governor's Mansion of 1877-78 is the chronologically later Heilbron House (1881) at the southeast corner of 7th and O in Sacramento (Antonina's Restaurant since 1952). Although the squared porch of the Heilbron House is relatively pure Classicist, there are obvious elements of misunderstanding which do not occur in the more exact detailing of the Stanford House porch (belonging to the original building of 1857), such as the recessed rectangular panels in the frieze or extra enrichments beneath the consoles creating a bracket, like those in the friezes of the Heilbron House proper and in the Governor's Mansion.

28. The author has established an archive of photographs of old Sacramento at the University of California, Davis campus.

29. It was named for the ship which brought the company's merchandise to California. The building was completed in June, 1852, at a cost of $29,000. The number was formerly 13-15 K Street. See Reed, *op. cit.*, pp. 68-70, for a list of early business houses in Sacramento.

30. Most of the surviving porches or extended roofs were removed during the Second World War. They appear in some of the earliest views of the city, as the wood engraving of Front and J Streets in the *Pictorial Union* of 1853 and the general lithographic view of the city of 1857, published by George H. Baker.

31. Changes of level in the commercial quarter (old newspapers refer to costs of raising structures "to the grade") can be seen in foundations exposed by recent revision of parts of the area and also in low back alleys.

32. The building, which is 208 feet long and 114 feet wide, has a 175-foot, ribbed, octagonal dome, vaguely reminiscent of Brunelleschi's for the Cathedral of Florence.

33. St. Louis Cathedral, New Orleans, 1794 ff. (façade reworked by Latrobe, 1814, and Le Riche, 1824; upper parts remodeled by J. N. B. De Pouilly, 1851). "It is the prevalent erroneous belief that the Cathedral was torn down and rebuilt in 1850. This is a mistake, as it was simply altered and improved. . . . 'The architecture of the Cathedral is by no means pure, but it is not wanting in effect on this account.'" Louis J. Loewenstein, *History of St. Louis Cathedral*, New Or-

leans, Times-Democrat, 1882, p. 49. Edwin L. Jewell, *Crescent City Illustrated,* New Orleans, 1824, p. 229, provides a view such as might have inspired the architect of St. Mary's.

34. An unusual *mudejar* octagonal roof in panelled wood covers the area beneath the exterior dome. The interior is otherwise a Victorian combination of late medieval Italianate windows and a curious mélange of Renaissance and Classicist Baroque columns and ornament.

35. The building is on the site of St. Rose's Catholic Church; it was dedicated on February 22, 1894, and it remained the city Post Office until 1933, when the larger building on I between 8th and 9th was constructed. Its great entrance arch might well fit the description given a Chicago house by Montgomery Schuyler, in one of his brilliant early appreciations of Richardsonian design: *Harper's New* Monthly Magazine, vol. LXXXIII, no. CCCCXVI (Sept. 1891), p. 564, "Janua Richardsoniensis, N'Importe Qui, Architect." The lofty façade tower was altered in the 20th century; the building is gradually being stripped and appears to be marked for destruction.

36. In March, 1860, four city blocks between L and N, facing 10th Street, were acquired as a site; $500,000 was appropriated for the building; ground was broken on September 24, 1860, and the cornerstone (NE corner) was laid May 16, 1861. The first real construction began on October 19, 1861. The designer of the building was Miner Frederic Butler; the supervising architects included Reuben Gordon Clark, Gordon P. Cummings, and Albert A. Bennett. The core of the building is of brick, with extensive use of iron as reinforcing. The intention had been to face the entire building with local Folsom granite, but only the first story was so completed. The final cost was $2,590,000 (against as "in progress" estimate of $945,000). Hoover and Rensch, *op. cit.*, p. 147: "The foundations of the State Capitol buildings were laid on the present site in the fall of 1860, only to be washed away by the flood of January 10, 1861. As a protection against recurring floods, two great terraces were constructed and on this elevation the cornerstone was laid . . . under the auspices of the Masonic Grand Lodge of California. The unfinished structure was occupied by the government late in the fall of 1869, but the building was not finally completed until 1874." The building was extensively remodeled and renovated between 1906 and 1908, the much admired rosewood staircases being removed and taken to St. Francis' Church at 26th and K Streets. The handsome semicircular east wing of the Capitol (which had housed the State Supreme Court, the State Library, etc., until the new Library-Courts Building was constructed in 1928) was razed to make way for the present eastern extension of the Capitol, added between 1947 and 1950 at a cost of $7,250,000. The best history of the building is *California's State Capitol,* compiled by the Workers of the Writer's Program of the Works Projects Administration in Northern California, 1942. A thorough structural study of the Capitol is much needed.

Writing Local History

By W. W. Robinson

In the late 1930s Donald Culross Peattie wrote the biography of a square mile of Illinois land where he had spent three happy years. He began his story in prehistoric times and brought it up through the Indian period; introduced the French missionaries and explorers, then the first Yankee settlers. He carried the narrative forward to the date when the owners of the square mile could watch the last flight of passenger pigeons. This combination of American and natural history bore the title, *A Prairie Grove*. The publisher was Simon & Schuster. It attracted the attention of the reading public of the entire country—for it really summed up the story of America—and it is still being circulated and read.

Possibly such an achievement is local history in its ideal form, and certainly there is only one Donald Culross Peattie. Its coverage helps me define local history which, for the purposes of this discussion, is the history of a county, a community, or an even smaller unit. Other definitions, I am aware, place an account of a whole state or of an even larger region in the local history category. My preference is for the narrower definition.

The man who puts his hand to the writing of local history, to my mind, has an inevitable weakness for this type of exercise. He is constantly aware of the past and finds relish in it—wherever he happens to be. This localist grubs in hometown soil because he likes to or because he is hired for the purpose. He is not unhappy that other historians use their time only for the broad interpretation of national events and trends.

Since I have indulged somewhat in the writing of local history in California I have been asked to make this story personal and to tell how I approach an assignment and what happens.

First of all, I find out what has been written about the subject chosen by me or assigned to me. I look at the books and pamphlets in my own small library. Then I consult the nearest and best institutional libraries—in my case such places as the Los Angeles Public Library, the Huntington Library, the Los Angeles County Museum, the Southwest Museum, the university and college libraries, and the Los Angeles County Law Library. In addition, I plague my collector friends for permission to browse in their sacred pastures. I make note of titles and, in a sketchy way, of contents, leaving the close reading for a later activity. Ultimately I shall find it easier to study these secondary sources at my convenience and near my home rather than to do library research on the go and in difficult circumstances.

The second step is to find a good map of the area. Sometimes the Automobile Club of Southern California has what is needed. Possibly it will be necessary to have a preliminary sketch made by a professional mapmaker. Finally, out of the completed research, will come a map showing boundaries, towns, roads, ranchos, and historical landmarks—which should be a definite contribution to the public.

If a California county is the project, I consult Owen C. Coy's *California County Boundaries.* This valuable book, with its series of maps, shows county origins and the various boundary changes since 1850.

So prepared, I drive to the county seat of the county under consideration and establish pleasant relations with the leading local historian of the area. Almost every city or county has such a person who takes the lead, and can give good advice, in matters historical. He knows everyone of similar interests in the county, is aware of special historical resources, and can be counted on finally to read the first draft of the written manuscript and show where and how the writer has gone wrong. Such a person may or may not be the secretary of the local historical society. He or she may be connected with a local museum or a local newspaper. A good illustration is Annie R. Mitchell of Visalia, secretary of the Tulare County Historical Society and writer of distinction, who helped me greatly when I was doing *The Story of Tulare County and Visalia.* Her primary interest is in her own county. In Riverside County, A. G. Paul, historian and former president of the

Pioneer Historical Society of Riverside, is another illustration of an authority eager to lend assistance. In Ventura County I leaned heavily on the good advice of Charles F. Outland, rancher-bibliophile of Santa Paula, and of J. H. Morrison, curator of the Ventura County Pioneer Museum. In San Bernardino it was a newspaperman and assiduous historian, L. Burr Belden, who generously offered to keep me on the straight and narrow path in his overwhelming region of valley, mountain, and desert land. For a rank outsider—a writer—to enter any community or county where a resident historian is hard at work year in and year out, is a bit presumptuous. Also, at first glance, this newcomer appears to be competitive. Hence the need for establishing good public relations at the outset and making clear that the outsider is not planning a competitive job.

Next I get in touch with local authorities, like the public librarian, school heads, secretary of the chamber of commerce or board of trade, the mayor, newspapermen, the county recorder, museum head, highway officials, perhaps industrial leaders, and definitely the manager of a local title company. At this early stage I do not seek out the so-called "old-timers," in spite of being warned constantly that it is high time for a local history to be written since these pioneers are dying so rapidly.

By this time I have a brief acquaintance with the area involved and have been doing a lot of brooding, reading, and over-all planning. So, now, I shape up a preliminary outline of the proposed history, largely in chronological form. I do this even though my exact knowledge is slight and even though I know that the outline will constantly change as I proceed with the writing. A preliminary outline is a wonderful guide. It helps me keep on the beam, avoid overemphasis on one topic at the expense of another equally important, and stay somewhat within the limits of the planned book or booklet. Because of my background in the land title business, I am in the habit of thinking in terms of a chain of title, of the procession of owners and users of the land from Indian days to the present. That way of thinking gets into my outline.

Usually it is easier to write the story of a community than of a county with many communities. If but one community is involved, I begin with the basic pattern and study the first map of the original townsite as recorded in the county recorder's office. Was the town laid out on a Spanish or Mexican rancho? Was it on land formerly in the public domain of the United States?

If the former, I am happy, for then I can present the fascinating, pastoral story of rancho days. To do this calls for an examination of the records of the United States District Court in San Francisco. These records survived the earthquake and fire of 1906 and are primary source material for local history when ranchos are concerned. If a trip to San Francisco is impractical, I order a photostatic copy of the proceedings in the District Court case that pertain to the particular rancho. These proceedings include a copy of all testimony given before the United States Land Commission which, in the early 1850s, was assigned the task of segregating privately owned land from public land in the new state of California. They also include a copy of the land grant files—the rancho's *expediente*—from the original Mexican archives that had been transferred from Monterey to the Public Survey Office in San Francisco. The District Court, handling California land cases, was a court of appeal to which decisions of the Land Commission were taken automatically. Its records present testimony of men long since dead, evidence of decades of possession and use, together with grants and other documents affecting ownership in the pre-American period. They are both revealing and colorful. Actually no rancho's story can be told without consulting them—or their counterparts in Washington, D. C., or elsewhere—yet how seldom are they used. I recall reading an account of a certain rancho that appeared a number of years ago in the excellent journal of a well-known historical society. It was heavy with footnotes—so many that the editor referred to it as a "very scholarly paper." The author had consulted practically everything printed about the rancho but had been unaware of the existence of basic material in the District Court. There he would have found the answers to most of the questions he raised. His overlooking easily available source material resulted in an article full of holes.

If the map showed the townsite located on public land rather than rancho, I would shed a few tears, for then my opportunities to write interestingly of romantic, pre-American days will be restricted. More space can be devoted, of course, to Indians and early explorers. But I can at least go to the nearest United States Land Office and find out when the townsite land first passed to private hands from the Government, the name of the first owner, and whether this pioneering ownership was under homestead laws or other federal legislation governing the acquisition of public land. There are interesting possibilities. A visit to the Land Office in Los Angeles, for example, revealed that the heart of Whittier's original area lay within the homestead claim of Jacob F. Gerkins which he filed in 1868, though it was not till the middle of 1874 that the United States issued its patent to him. A check-up on Gerkins gave me the information that he was a German farmer who had come to Los Angeles in 1854. His homestead proved to be the nucleus of the Thomas Ranch which later was bought by the Quaker founders of Whittier. The facts disclosed in the Land Office, accordingly, gave vital information on Whittier's early history, and I had the pleasure of being the first to give them publication.

Speaking of public records, the county recorder's office is a place to which I always pay more than one visit. It so often gives the exact information needed. To illustrate: the office of the Recorder of Tulare County has a record dated 1868, of a patent issued by the Government to the "Board of Supervisors in Trust for the County of Tulare County, California" covering the 160-acre townsite of Visalia, the county seat. Actually Visalia was born in 1852, but the townsmen had taken for granted their ownership of the land on which they had settled—squatted, to be more exact. But five years later the supervisors woke up to the fact that they had no title and that a certain clever individual was trying to grab the town's 160 acres by filing an application for pre-emption. The supervisors got in touch with Washington and, on the basis of their possession, were fortunately given the preferential right to buy the townsite acreage. A glance at other early patent records in the same courthouse revealed other interesting acquisitions by settlers of land surrounding the townsite—and now within city limits. These were based on military bounty warrants issued to men who had served in the Rogue River War, also with the Texas Volunteers, and in Black Hawk's War. All such information is a basic part of Visalia's history, very easily obtained but usually neglected by researchers who rely on legends and published books rather than original source material.

The beauty of research in public records is that it makes the story factual. So many local historians seem frightened of courthouses and public offices. They prefer libraries. A single day spent in the County Recorder's office in San Luis Obispo gave me all the basic facts about the Spanish and Mexican ranchos of San Luis Obispo County. These facts were partly at variance with the accounts in published county histories the authors of which had merely copied what predecessor historians had written.

Deeds, mortgages, and official maps in the county recorder's office, as well as lawsuits and probate proceedings in the county clerk's office, together with ordinances in the city clerk's office, should likewise be consulted. They carry data vital to the story of the community or county. If the county's population is small, the records will be simple and easily searched through use of available name indexes. If large, like Los Angeles County's, the help of a title company which maintains property indexes may be needed. Land transfers, litigation, and the administration of estates are at least the dry bones of local history. If to these bones are added the results of a little study and of pleasant talks with men and women who have good memories, they take on flesh, blood, and life. Early official maps, unlike those of current subdivisions, are keys to much of the past. They often show adobe homes long since gone, *cienegas* that have dried up, first roads, and landmarks that could not otherwise be located today. Early day city ordinances give pungent data about chain gangs, prostitution, dance halls, fast driving of horses in the streets or over bridges—in fact, they disclose the whole life of a community.

When I have caught up on my scheduled reading I visit every community in the county, if the whole county is to be covered. I do this to get the current look and feeling of each town, as well as to locate, when possible, old trails, springs, and historic sites. My method is to persuade my obliging wife to do the driving while I frantically fill my notebook with observations, descriptions, and reactions.

In my research I make a point of visiting all historic buildings, sites, and state monuments in the area being studied. It is quite likely that research done for a community or county history will help in the establishment of unmarked or forgotten sites of importance. It is even possible that it will prove—alas—that the bronze plaque already adorning some countryside boulder has been misplaced.

I go, also, to the handiest file of early newspapers for the detail and color that will add so much to the story being written. Newspaper advertisements of a bygone period—like those in early city directories—also add picturesque and humorous notes when used as illustrations. A genealogist-historian like Thomas Workman Temple II will also seek data from mission baptismal and necrological records.

As a final activity, when my story is well in hand, I call upon the people labeled "oldtimers." By this time I am able to ask intelligent questions and to evaluate the answers. The stories of pioneers and long-time residents may lend color to facts assembled. On rare occasions information so obtained may prove vital. When gathering material for my *Lawyers of Los Angeles* I had many talks with Oscar Lawler, distinguished and venerable Los Angeles attorney. He came to Los Angeles in 1888 and became a call boy at the California Club frequented then as now by the more affluent of the local lawyers. From then on to the present Mr. Lawler, possessing a near-perfect memory, could tell me what any named lawyer looked like, how he dressed, what his personal habits were, and in what important cases he participated. He reconstructed the past with ease and accuracy. Yes, "oldtimers" can be very important to a local historian—when he is ready to ask the right questions.

During all this period of research on the community or county history I have also been writing busily. I have been doing various versions of my story; trying to give it logical direction, form, and unity; pushing it toward a climax or climaxes; and always attempting to make it a part of the larger story of California, the West, and possibly the nation. I try to keep in mind Frank Dobie's recent and rather extreme statement that if a book about a local habitation does not transcend the local in interest it has no reason for being published. Already I have fallen in love with my assignment—if it was not a first-sight love affair—and have allowed my enthusiasm to show through discreetly in the manuscript, enough, I hope, to infect my audience.

The first finished draft goes to my local historian friend and counsellor. The second, improved by his corrections and suggestions, goes to a group of chosen readers some of whom have been asked for their names' sake—for they are influential—others because they have a considerable knowledge of local history. Another draft at least is made, including changes in fact and fancy and the transformation of sluggish prose into smooth-flowing narrative. Now it goes to the printer and designer—along with pictures to illustrate the text. The pictures have been chosen because they have good reproduction possibilities as well as historic importance. Some of them, it is hoped, have never been published before. They have come largely from public or private collections, including perhaps some prized photograph belonging to a pioneer family and perhaps prints from old lithographs such as appear in Thompson & West's county histories.

After the publication of a piece of local history, many satisfactions come to the writer, whether or not money is made out of the venture and whether or not the author is on the payroll of a university, a college, a private corporation, a generous individual sponsor, or is merely doing the job as a self-employed person. His audience encircles the local historian, and the applause is apt to be audible, for it comes at least from fellow townsmen and fellow Californians. Then, too, by getting so close to a subject, the local historian inevitably comes upon new material, with discoveries that are satisfying. Speaking personally, I felt happy when I found substantial proof that California's first rancho was the San Pedro in Los Angeles County. It was pleasant to be the first to uncover the story of Inglewood's and Culver City's first settlers; to tell for the first time how Pershing Square in Los Angeles got its start; to present new and important information about the McNamara *Times* dynamiting case; to first publish the chain of title of Santa Catalina Island; to draw upon untapped sources in revealing the actual story of San Fernando Valley's subdivision immediately preceding the completion of the Los Angeles Aqueduct; and to disclose new facts about the granting of the rancho known as the Malibu. A close study of the minutes of the proceedings of the *Ayuntamiento* or city council of the Pueblo of Los Angeles enabled me, happily, to offer in small book form the story of the Indians of Los Angeles, to disprove much of what had been written about the village of Yang-na, and to tell what really happened to the villagers. These minutes, preserved in the present day City

Hall, unfolded for me, in dignified and delightful language, what went on in the simple Pueblo of Mexican days.

The writer of local history can feel, too, that he has made a useful and sometimes exciting contribution to the community or the county. If he has avoided provincial viewpoints and if he has remained fully aware of the community's or county's role in the state or nation, he has made an important contribution. That history of the United States is most interesting and convincing which is in part compounded of the lively details furnished by a small army of local historians.

The worker in local California history today is on the ground floor. Unlike his compatriot on the Atlantic seaboard or in Europe, he can still talk to first settlers, the sons or at least the grandsons of first settlers. He can easily get to first records. He can do a fundamental job and help shape the story that will be accepted and read hundreds of years from now.

The local historian will feel grateful not only to his sponsor but to his publisher who, perhaps, has taken a chance, hoping to get fame rather than fortune from the publishing venture.

It is improbable that any one of us will do what Donald Culross Peattie did: take a minute area and so write its story that it symbolizes the whole story of America. Nevertheless, if a broad perspective is maintained and the quality of writing kept high, the history of the locality becomes a part of the history of the state, the United States, and the world.

The French Language Press in California

By Clifford H. Bissell

(Continued)

Short-Lived and Lost Journals; *le Petit Journal*

Le Journal du Lundi, as its name indicates, was published every Monday, starting February 3, 1868. The offices were on the corner of Jackson and Sansome Streets. The paper styled itself, "Revue politique et littéraire, publié par un comité d'hommes indépendants," and its editor-in-chief was Pierre Cauwet, a poet.[30] It sold for twelve and a half cents. Its existence must have ended some time toward the middle of 1869 or soon afterwards. It is mentioned by *Le National* of March 8, 1869, as still existing, but in October of the same year we find Cauwet, with a certain Duquesnay, starting a new weekly, *L'Alouette.* The only known issue of *Le Journal du Lundi,* November 16, 1868, has four pages of six columns each, but contains very little news. It is mostly composed of miscellaneous articles, a "partie littéraire" by Dumas, and a review of the preceding Monday's performance at the French Theater, including "la grande nouveauté de la saison, la poésie de Pierre Cauwet, 'Le Rhin'." The poem is published, with the refrain, "Donne-nous le Rhin"; it is an extremely belligerent piece, claiming that the Rhine is French, and exhorting France to rise up and take it. On page 4, however, appears another poem also called "Le Rhin," stigmatizing this inhuman and warlike outcry; it is unsigned, and is taken from another San Francisco French journal, *La Réforme,* the organ of the republican party.

Le National of February 24, 1868, gives us the only hint of the brief existence of *L'International.* It says, "Le premier numéro d'un quatrième journal en langue française a été publié, samedi dernier, dans notre ville.

Cette feuille est intitulée *L'International:* elle devra paraître régulièrement trois fois par semaine, le mardi, le jeudi et le samedi; le bureau est rue Clay, No. 536. . . . Les caractères typographiques sont entièrement neufs, et le papier fort beau." The date of the first number was therefore February 22. The paper, which carried no name of editor or owner, according to *Le National,* had four pages, about two feet long, of six columns each, and sold for 25 cents weekly, payable to the carrier. On June 15, 1868, *Le National* reports, "Nous avons à annoncer la suspension de l'*International,* et son remplacement par *Le Progrès.*" *Le Progrès* too is known to us only from the columns of *Le National.* The announcement just quoted suggests that it was owned and edited by the same person or persons as *L'International.* By March 8, 1869, it had disappeared, for *Le National* of that date does not include it in a list of surviving French newspapers.

The *Alta California* of August 25, 1868, says, "We have received the first number of a weekly French paper published in this city by Paul Heitzeberg and Co. The editorial salutatory makes no mention of any political or religious leaning, but several of the minor articles have a republican tone, and one urges the French of California to become American citizens." Curiously, the *Alta* does not give the name of the paper, but it cannot be anything but *La Réforme,* which is listed in the 1868-9 Langley city directory as a weekly, published by Paul Heitzeberg and Co. at 520 Clay Street. The date of the first number was August 22, 1868, according to *Le National* of August 24, The latter also quotes the prospectus of *La Réforme,* as follows:

> Il est spécialement destiné aux questions d'améliorations sociales, et publiera en plus toutes les nouvelles politiques, des articles littéraires, philosophiques, scientifiques et d'économie sociale. Un feuilleton choisi, pour le fonds [sic] et la forme, c'est à dire pour l'esprit, la moralité et le style, fera toujours l'ornement de cette feuille. Une revue de la semaine sur tout ce qui s'accomplira en Californie complétera chaque numéro.[31]

This ambitious program must have proved too heavy to carry out, for on March 8, 1869, the name of *La Réforme* does not appear among existing French papers as listed by *Le National.*

On October 18, 1869, appeared the first issue of the weekly *L'Alouette,* published by Pierre Cauwet and C. Duquesnay, at 621 Sansome Street. The *Alta* of October 21 remarks, "If sprightly articles and pleasant style can save it, it will live. It leans to the liberal side in politics." Unfortunately it did not live long. It does not appear in the city directory of 1870. Publication must have ceased between November, 1869, when it is mentioned in *Le National,* and the following March, for on March 21, 1870, *Le National* says that itself and the *Courrier de San Francisco* are the only existing French newspapers.

The April, 1871, San Francisco city directory lists *L'Avenir National* as a weekly, Paul Heitzeberg, proprietor, 603 Washington Street; this is the only reference found to the existence of that paper.

Thiele's weekly, *Le National,* became a daily on November 8, 1870, as *L'Union Nationale,* "Journal de la Population Franco-Califorienne. Publié tous les jours (Lundis exceptés)." It was published at 603 Washington Street and cost "3 réaux par semaine, payables au porteur; pour l'intérieur, 5 dollars pour trois mois." The first issue is numbered "7e année, No. 348," in continuation of the earlier paper. Thiele announces that *Le National* had been "une oeuvre secondaire, devant préparer la voie à une plus importante, un journal quotidien." The principal mission of the new paper was to defend republican (anti-monarchic) ideals and to "relier plus étroitement la population française à la population américaine," both of which aims had been steadfastly pursued by its predecessor. An article signed by Thiele says that a French journal in California must represent the concentration of general ideas and not the expression of any individual; hence 2000 shares of $5 each are offered, more than half of which were subscribed a couple of days later. An Italian paper, the *Voce del Popolo,* merged with the *Union Nationale* as *L'Unione Nazionale.*

The paper was of large size, four pages of eight columns each; two of the pages were in French, one was in Italian, and the fourth was devoted to advertising, about equally divided between the two languages. The chief news coverage was that of the Franco-Prussian War. The issue of November 10, 1870, contains a letter from a resident of Versailles claiming that Prussia cannot last out beyond a short conflict, her resources being nearly exhausted and France's scarcely touched: "ne nous laissons donc pas intimider et avant un mois, c'est nous qui dicterons les conditions de la paix." This is also said to be the opinion of foreign political men. The issue of November 16 starts a feuilleton, "Les Trois Saurrain." An article signed J. T. in the November 23 number predicts the raising of the siege of Paris and the complete defeat of the Prussians. A supplement to the issue of Sunday, November 27, appeared on Monday; it is of lesser length and has only seven columns, of which two are war news and the rest advertisements. The reverse of the sheet is blank. The paper came to an untimely end on Sunday, December 4, after only four weeks of publication. An editorial signed by Thiele explains:

> Nous avons essayé de créer le journal de tous pour tous, un journal ne portant aucun cachet d'individualité. Nos efforts n'ont pas été couronnés de succès, et l'aide qui nous a été donné [sic] s'est trouvé [sic] en disproportion avec les obligations à remplir.... nous devons nous incliner devant la volonté du public, laissant à l'avenir de prononcer un verdict définitif.[32]

In order to put an end to the "monopole audacieusement exigeant, monopole politique et financier" of a paper unnamed but obviously *Le Courrier de San Francisco*, Georges Francfort founded a new weekly paper, *Le Petit Journal*, in San Francisco late in 1872, with a capital of only $250. The office was at 603 Washington Street, and the first number came out on or about December 13. In his issue of May 14, 1873, he made the statement quoted above, and added,

> Par son nombre et sa position dans l'Etat de Californie, notre colonie doit avoir plus d'un organe: son influence politique l'exige. Depuis assez longtemps elle subissait, mais non sans gronder un peu, un monopole....

The founders of *Le Petit Journal*

> résolurent de combler cette lacune et n'hésitèrent pas à établir leur journal quotidien.... Que notre population ne perde pas de vue que *le Petit Journal* n'est pas une oeuvre individuelle; que son but, essentiellement français, est de combattre le monopole, et d'être l'organe fidèle des intérêts nationaux.[33]

This issue is "2e année, No. 130, paraissant tous les soirs," which shows that *Notre Centenaire* is in error in saying that *le Petit Journal* did not become a daily until 1876.

This issue of May 14, 1873, consists of four pages of seven columns each, with little real news and many misprints. The editor says that the paper was so successful that it had to enlarge its format, and that it now requires a further increase in size and type. There are a few telegrams from the East and from Europe, a feuilleton, and advertisements, the latter occupying the entire last page; one of them says that "Docteur Jim, le célèbre médecin chinois . . . garantit la guérison radicale, ou ne demande pas de paiement." There is also an offer of stock of the paper, to be subscribed for at $5 a share. It claims (in English) to be the cheapest French newspaper published on the Pacific coast, and the best medium for advertising. The price was 30 cents a week by subscription.

No. 270, Monday, August 31, 1874, is still the same size. It carries a sub-title, "Organe libéral français," with "George Francfort, éditeur."[34] There is even less news than in the earlier issue described, and more feuilleton and fiction. B. E. Lloyd, in his *Lights and Shades in San Francisco* (1876), says that *Le Petit Journal* "is more given to society gossip than to general news." *Notre Centenaire* errs again in saying that this paper became a weekly once more in 1879, for it is already listed as a weekly in the San Francisco directory published in March, 1875. In the 1878-9 directory, on the contrary, it is a "French daily," only to reappear as a weekly in the directory of 1882-3. By 1884 or 1885 the office of the paper had been moved to 532 Commercial Street. The 1885-6 directory says it is published by the Petit Journal Publishing Co.; the paper is believed to have passed into the hands of this company, headed by Ed. S. Labadie, in 1879. Later Alfred Chaigneau was listed as the publisher, and in October, 1886, he changed the paper to a daily under the name of *Le Franco-Californien* (see below).

On January 1, 1881, St. Helena, California, appears in the masthead as the place of publication of a curious and rather pathetic journal formerly issued in Kansas and Iowa, *L'Etoile des Pauvres et des Souffrants*, "Organe du Communisme Libérateur des Peuples et de l'Individu." Its publisher, Jules Leroux, was indeed a kind of Communist, but the kind that would be disowned by the Communist Party of today and probably be called a counter-revolutionary and an enemy of the people. For he was not only a Christian and a believer in the immortality of the soul; he also repudiated all forms of violence. He calls himself "Chrétien, Philosophe, Communiste," a follower of the doctrines of Saint-Simon, Lamennais, and "tous les premiers saints du Grand Christianisme"; not, be it noted, of Karl Marx. His type of Communism wanted to put into practice the principles enunciated in "Les Droits de l'Homme et du Citoyen." Leroux was born in 1805, the third of four brothers, all of whom he survived. He was a republican deputy from the Creuse in 1848 and wrote a pamphlet called *Réponse au Manifeste de Lamartine* which no one dared to publish, so he finally set the type himself and published it clandestinely. Proscribed at the *coup d'état* of December, 1851, he went to London and then to Jersey, but found it too hard to make a living there; in 1867 he emigrated with his wife and seven children to Kansas, where he acquired a homestead. Later he assigned it to one of his sons-in-law and set up a little print shop. It was then that he began publishing the *Etoile,* in which he was aided by his brother Pierre until the latter's death. Before coming to California Leroux had an apoplectic stroke which left him unable to write, so he set type for his paper without any preliminary manuscript. For the last few weeks of his life he was practically blind. He died on October 15, 1883.

The first number of the paper, under the name of *L'Etoile du Kansas,* is dated January 1, 1873, without mention of any place of publication, but the supplement of January 15 gives the office address as "Humanity City, Neuchatel P.O., Nehama County, Kansas." The issue of September 1 announces—without accent marks—"*L'Etoile du Kansas* parait douze fois par an regulierement, le 1er de chaque mois, sous forme de Numero d'Ordre, et irregulierement dans le courant des mois, en nombre indetermine, sous la forme de Numeros Supplementaires." Beginning with No. 48, September 1, 1876, the address of Jules Leroux is given as "Icarie P.O., Adams County, Iowa," and with the issue of December 1, 1876, the name becomes *L'Etoile du Kansas et de L'Iowa,* which continues through December 1, 1880. On January 1, 1881, at St. Helena, the title becomes *L'Etoile des Pauvres et des Souffrants,* and a new numbering begins; with No. 8, August 1, the paper moves to Cloverdale, where it ends on October 24, 1883.

The *Etoile* could not be called a newspaper. The California numbers contain nothing but earnest propaganda and the details of a dispute Leroux was having with Vauvert de Méan, the French consul in San Francisco, about obtaining a pension which had been allocated to him as a victim of Louis Napoleon's *coup d'état.* The propaganda part was largely concerned with Leroux's "Humanity City" in Cloverdale; he says that this community "promet d'être le centre d'une ville immense où se développeront moeurs pures, vie nouvelle, civilisation nouvelle." The April 1 ("Xe année, No. XIX") and May 1 issues of 1883 are two pages, while later issues of the year have four. The price is given as $2 a year, and publication as "graduelle, mais annuelle, depuis la mensuelle jusqu'à la quotidienne." The issues of August 10 and October 24, 1883 were printed by Leroux's son Pierre, who writes of his father,

> Il travailla à trouver la véritable interprétation du Christianisme, en le dépouillant de toutes les fausses doctrines dont les prêtres se plurent à l'entourer ... le vrai Communisme, établissant les rapports de l'homme avec la Nature de Dieu, ainsi que ceux de l'homme avec son prochain.[35]

Jules Leroux was so convinced of the seriousness of his mission that he headed some of his articles, "Très important, plus qu'important, NECESSAIRE pour tous et pour chacun."

Considering the circumstances of its composition, there is no cause for surprise that misprints appear in the *Etoile;* rather is it surprising that there are not more of them. Except in the two numbers printed by Pierre, the spelling "homesteed" occurs constantly. Others are "un galand homme" and "chaire à canon." The most curious feature consists of whole passages in which italic type is used for the unaccented "e"s, *e.g.*, "*e*t d*e* l'arg*e*nt d*e*s Bourg*e*ois." Few people today remember Leroux or Humanity City. The project gradually withered away after his death, and was definitely ended in 1895.

The Beginnings of *Le Franco-Californien* and *Le Petit Californien*

The present *Courrier Français des Etats-Unis* establishes its claim as the oldest existing French newspaper in America by a line of descent from the *Echo du Pacifique* (1852) through its successor, *Le Courrier de San Francisco*, and the *Franco-Californien*, of which it gives the initial date as 1890. The actual course of events was somewhat more devious; the *Franco-Californien* was founded in 1886, not 1890, and was the successor of *Le Petit Journal*, not the *Courrier de San Francisco*. The *Call* of October 12, 1886, says, "*Le Petit Journal*, A. Chaigneau publisher, a French journal published in this city for many years, will hereafter appear as a daily under the name of *Le Franco-Californien.*" Soon after this Chaigneau bought the *Courrier de San Francisco*, which had been going down hill financially, merged it with the *Franco-Cali-*

fornien, and sold them to a corporation, the Franco-Californien Publishing Co., of which he and P. A. Bergerot were officers.[36] In the course of its career this paper was involved in three distinct feuds with other journals: first with Barra's *Le Bayard;* then with Maubailly's *Le Réveil;* and lastly and for the longest time, after Maubailly had changed sides, with Léon Rey's *Echo de l'Ouest,* with which it finally merged. The editor of the new journal was Auguste Goustiaux, one of the most respected members of the French colony. He showed such moderation in all he said and wrote that even Barra did not launch any shafts at him. This is not to say that he was a colorless person. S. J. Brun, who delivered his funeral oration, lauded him as an eloquent speaker, and said, that he "était fait pour haranguer les foules, surtout pour les émouvoir."[37] In France he had been a teacher in the *école primaire.* He came to San Francisco in 1865, and for ten years was honorary consul there for Greece. He was one of the founders of the Ligue Nationale and one of its early directors, taking a particular interest in the library; he was also a director of the French Hospital. He retired from the *Franco-Californien* in 1902, and was associated with Camille Mailhebuau in the famous Old Poodle Dog restaurant. He died in 1920 at the age of eighty.

The *Franco-Californien* of July 4, 1893, states that it was established in 1852—a claim based on descent from the *Echo du Pacifique*—and that it is the only French daily newspaper on the Pacific coast. Offices were at 640 Clay Street. This issue was four pages, 20 by 25 inches; in view of the date it was primarily a patriotic number, featuring all seven stanzas of "La Marseillaise" and other songs by Rouget de L'Isle, M.-J. Chénier, Delavigne, and Béranger. It also reprinted the "Droits de l'Homme," and had a full-page drawing of soldiers by H. Meyer. There are also "nouvelles locales" and "dépêches," and an announcement of the weekly edition (25 cents) to appear on Sunday, July 16, which will contain an account of the Bastille Day celebrations. The chief of these was a parade to the National Theater at Eddy and Jones Streets, followed by music and speeches. Among the speakers were P. A. Bergerot (in English), Auguste Goustiaux (in French), and Major Edward Hunter, vice-president of the California branch of the Sons of the American Revolution. The July 16 issue carries an advertisement of "P. Alexandre Bergerot, Avocat Français. Heures d'office: de 9 heures à midi, et de 1:30 à 4 heures." Another advertisement, from a railroad agency, says, "Plus de trains d'émigrants! Tout le monde part en train express." The issue of August 29, 1897, has the sub-heading, "Journal quotidien et hebdomadaire," published at 529 California Street. It contains signed articles (some pseudonymous) on various subjects, including one quoting a letter from "Koskiusko" in which he denies that he ever said "Finis Poloniae." The issue of July 16, 1902, features a banquet at which the notorious Mayor Eugene Schmitz was one of the speakers. There is a news item "A travers la France." Side by side are two advertisements of undertakers. The first is of G. Iaccheri, "spécialement chargé des enterrements pour la Société Française de Bienfaisance Mutuelle pendant plus de sept ans.... Cette maison n'enterre pas les Chinois." The other is of Jules Godeau, "Seul établissement français actuellement chargé des enterrements pour la Société Française de Bienfaisance Mutuelle." In another part of the paper is the remark, "quelques fireworks commencent à éclater." The issue of April 6, just before the great earthquake and fire, contains an editorial signed "Aël" (Lusinchi), attacking the Ligue Henri IV for taking sides with the illiberal anti-Chinese element. The paper's experience in that disaster and its later history will be dealt with below.

After having been connected with the *Echo du Pacifique* and the *Courrier de San Francisco* and having left the city for a while, Emile Marque returned, and in the late 'eighties re-entered journalism with his own weekly. He was about 60 at this time. The paper was published on Sundays at 712 Montgomery Street, Marque appearing as editor and publisher; it announced itself as a "journal politique, littéraire, commercial et d'annonces." The *Call* of March 29, 1887, says, "*Le Petit Californian* [sic] a bi-monthly [sic] journal published in the French language, made its initial bow to the people of San Francisco last Saturday [March 26]. It is the intention of the editor, E. Marque, to devote the new journal to politics, literature, commerce and general news." The issue of August 5, 1888, has eight pages of five columns each. The left column of page 1 consists of advertising, and the rest of the page, under the heading "La Semaine," is a chronicle of political events, with comments; this particular issue deals with General Boulanger, the trip of Kaiser Wilhelm II to Denmark, and the disappearance of the explorer

Stanley into the interior of Africa. Page 2 has a little over two columns, headed "A travers les dépêches," consisting of brief items of foreign news; the rest is advertisements. Among them are those of "A. Ruef, avocat français et conseiller en loi" (who was not a Frenchman and who was later sent to prison) and "Ed. Larcher, de l'Université de Paris, Professeur de langues modernes et anciennes (Latin et Grec). Traduction du français en anglais, allemand, espagnol et italien, et vice-versa, une spécialité." Page 3 has two columns of advertising, an article, "Gambetta," from *Le Temps*, another titled "Un Peu de Tout," and one called "La Science pour Tous," which continues for two columns on page 4. On the latter are also nearly two columns of "Chronique Parisienne," a few jokes under the heading "L'Esprit du Voisin," and more advertisements. Pages 5 and 6 are occupied by a feuilleton. Page 7 has advertising and a "Chronique locale," the latter written by Marque. On page 8 is a serial by Marque, "Récits Californiens, le Mariage de Célestine," and two columns of advertisements. That of Professor Larcher is of interest not only for its claims of his varied linguistic talents, but because he and Marque were prominent targets for the attacks of the redoutable Barra, editor of *Le Bayard;* these will be discussed under the latter paper. In 1895 or 1896 *Le Petit Californien* became a semi-weekly. Its name does not appear in the San Francisco city directories after 1896. During its last two or three years it was published at 8 Montgomery Street.

Chapter III

NORTHERN CALIFORNIA: FEUD AND FACTION, 1888-1906

Barra and *Le Bayard,* 1888-1889

In the late 'eighties Chaigneau of the *Franco-Californien* and Marque of the *Petit Californien* had encounters with a new figure in California French journalism, who was to bring another era of personal vituperation and quarreling. The former paper had as a contributor a vineyardist named Drioton, whose articles brought forth letters from a person signing himself "X." One day this man, dressed like a dandy and leading two big dogs, came into the shop of Léon Rey, then a hatter but later a newspaper publisher, and revealed himself as Léon Deshayes. He said, "Je suis chimiste et travaille dans les vins," adding that he came from Mexico, where "les autorités lui avaient porté un grand préjudice." Apparently he had expected to be taken on the staff of the *Franco-Californien,* to which he had contributed articles, but one of these led to a quarrel with Professor Larcher. The result of this quarrel, according to Rey, was a suit for libel against Deshayes and the refusal of Chaigneau, followed by that of Marque, to publish any more of his writings. This, to him, was the last straw, and early in 1888 he started his own paper, using both his own name and his pseudonym of Barra, by which he is usually called. Barra's new paper was *Le Bayard,*[38] first published January 24, 1888, as a semi-weekly, appearing Mondays and Thursdays. It sold for 5 cents a copy, 80 cents a quarter—later reduced to 60 cents. The masthead read, "Administration, Louis Grégoire et Cie. Gérant responsable, L. Deshayes. Directeur politique, Barra. Provisoirement hebdomadaire, puis bi-hebdomadaire, puis quotidien," and the motto was "Sans Peur! Sans Reproche!" Initially *Le Bayard* consisted of four pages of four columns each, about 10 by 18 inches; on the front page of each issue is announced that it was the "Seul journal français qui ne caresse pas le chou américain et la chèvre française." It was practically a one-man journal, almost entirely written by Deshayes, alias Barra, and was always badly printed and full of errors. It became a daily (except Sunday), as promised, on March 24, 1889, and began to give more real news in addition to Barra's ceaseless vituperations.

Whatever may be said about the second part of the paper's motto, the first part was well justified. Barra could have qualified as an outstanding exponent of what Whistler called "the gentle art of making enemies," save for the fact that his methods were anything but gentle. His language, of which the crude vigor was accentuated by low puns, stemmed from the gutter, and his accusations were almost unbelievable in their bold violence. He was a Jew-hater and gloried in it. Even before starting *Le Bayard* he had written an article for the *Franco-Californien* against Jews in general and particularly against Raphaël Weill, one of San Francisco's most prominent French merchants and philanthropists, and a leader in the colony. At one time he addressed Marque as "vous qui travaillez exclusivement pour les Israëlites," and in his issue of March

24, 1889, he said, "Je n'ai jamais combattu sans être attaqué. J'ai attaqué ... les Allemands et les Juifs." He seems to have had ample financial means; in his issue of February 14, 1888, he wrote, "J'écris pour mon plaisir et non pour gagner.... Je suis indépendant, gagnant largement de quoi vivre.... Je fais et je cherche à faire le bien tout comme d'autres cherchent à faire le mal." There are occasional evidences of his doing good. In his issue of January 31, 1888, he announced:

> S'il existe deux Français ou deux Françaises, arrivés d'un mois à cette date, soit à San Francisco, soit à Oakland, et qu'ils soient dans un dénûment complet, ils peuvent adresser une note à Barra ..., et sur leur identification de FRANÇAIS, rien de plus, ils recevront chacun dix dollars. Religion, métier, politique, ne me regardent point, Français et honnête sont les seuls titres pour recevoir ce petit coup de main.[39]

And on May 14 he declared that he would publish free all want ads of working men or women on the Pacific coast if French, Swiss, or Belgian, as well as their birth, marriage, death, etc., announcements, up to six lines.

Although anti-Semitic, Barra on one occasion espoused the cause of a young Jew named Goldensen, condemned to death for killing a girl with whom he had had illicit relations. Barra claimed that Goldensen was insane, and commented, "Barbarie ... inhumanité ... paganisme; voilà ce que sont les cultes et les religions. La Franc-Maçonnerie, imitation grotesque de tous les cultes connus." When a French theatrical company came to San Francisco, featuring Coquelin the elder and Jane Hading, he took up the cudgels for her and attacked Coquelin, who, he said, was trying to belittle her for his own advantage. He may have had right on his side here, if one is to credit an article in the San Francisco *Examiner* of December 19, 1888, which tells how Coquelin's secretary, a Dr. Theodore Glaser, roused the ire of the French colony by characterizing Jane Hading as a woman of no good quality except that of being a member of Coquelin's company, and adding that she was insanely jealous of Coquelin and that she had big hands and feet.

Barra attacked almost everybody within reach. His chief targets were Professor Larcher; Carrey, the French consul; Chaigneau and the *Franco-Californien,* which he called the "Franco-Cauliflower" and "the Francoco"; Marque and the *Petit Californien,* which he called "Le Petit Califourchon";[40] and the Société Française de Bienfaisance Mutuelle, which he called the "Société Française de Malfaisance." His attacks on Carrey began with the first issue of *Le Bayard*, the occasion being a visit to San Francisco by a French warship, the *Duquesne*. Barra claimed that the food and wine served to the sailors were execrable, and that the contracts for furnishing provisions had been "adjudications faites à la muette" with the connivance of Carrey, who was getting his share of the graft. This blast led to an article in the *Chronicle* of January 28, 1888, headed "Belligerent Barra." It begins, "M. Barra, editor of *Le Bayard*, the new French paper, is bound to create a sensation one way or another," and goes on to tell how he claimed that certain French merchants had pooled their bids for supplies to the *Duquesne* and had furnished wormy biscuits and miserable wine. A *Chronicle* reporter called on Pascal, Dubedat and Co., a firm which had supplied French vessels for years, and M. Dubedat said that Barra had written the article for sensational purposes and that there was not a word of truth in it; that the talk about pools was rank nonsense; that contracts with French vessels were signed in the presence of the French consul; that specifications were drawn; and that an official inspector reported whether the requirements had been fulfilled. "From other sources" it was ascertained that the French consul gave the captain of the *Duquesne*, at his request, a list of reputable French merchants from whom to secure bids. In this case the three competing firms were Pascal, Dubedat and Co., E. Thomas, and J. Saulnier. P. G. Sabatie, another French wine and liquor dealer, was not consulted and, regarding the oversight as a personal insult, made remarks which formed the basis of Barra's article. Sabatie, when questioned, said he was too busy to bother about such matters, had not read the article, and did not know its contents, and added that he was too well known to the public to fear any ill effects. Other French people seen by the reporter expressed themselves as satisfied that there was nothing in the charges. Barra, however, stuck to his guns. He resumed the attacks by calling Carrey "voleur" and "souteneur," and when asked by Léon Rey to make his accusations clear retorted by saying that Rey had kept a brothel in New York. Carrey, he declared, was a typical specimen of most French consuls in the United States, and replying to Marque's statement that Carrey was a "galant homme," remarked sarcastically that according to the "chronique égrillarde de San Francisco," no doubt he was: "Oh, oui, il est galant, galant."

Similar attacks were made on Larcher, whom Barra referred to as "Professeur????? Larcher," as "L'Archet," bogus professor and violinist, "souteneur par habitude et professeur par caprice," and a pander who beat his girls if they did not bring him in enough. He even went farther, accusing Larcher of "subtilisations" and of the attempted murder of an old man. He attacked Chaigneau as "Chalumeau," and Juignet, another member of the staff of the *Franco-Californien,* was variously dubbed "Philos," "Bedon-Bedaine-Bedonnant," "professeur de fourchette invitée, and "ce ventre adorable de rondeur graisseuse." On November 8, 1888, he said of Juignet:

> Sa graisseuse et dégoûtante personne a commencé le premier cette guerre de tous contre un, croyant que nous allions lui ravir son emploi de jambe-malade à la rédaction du *Francoco,* où, dû à la bêtise de Chalumeau il s'est grassement entretenu pendant de longs mois.[41]

The rival paper itself he called "le journal anémié de M. Derbec, le journal poitrinaire d'aujourd'hui," and refers in his first number to "ces trois nullités qui se nomment votre rédaction," while telling them they need not be proud of having "enfoncé Derbec"—it was "enfoncer une porte ouverte." Later, however, in mentioning his source of information for a history he proposed to publish of the French in California, he speaks respectfully of Derbec as "chevalier de la Légion d'Honneur, qui a été floué par les deux chevaliers d'industrie E. Marque et A. Chaigneau."

Barra's first assault on Marque was relatively mild. In the issue of February 21, 1888, he concedes that Marque has wit and charm, but says he is not independent and is affected by the proximity of "Philos" and the *Franco-Californien.* But on March 20, angered because Marque had called him a "fou, mauvais citoyen, épileptique," he uses much stronger terms. Marque is now referred to as "conviction de contremarque." Barra scornfully observes on April 2 that Marque and Chaigneau have in common that "propriétaires de deux journaux français, vous n'êtes point français!" As for Marque's paper, it is a "serviette hygiénique" and its contents are "matières excrémentielles." On April 19 a satire against Marque in bad verse appears. Marque replied by saying that he would have no further concern with Barra's "immonde personne," and on August 30 Barra says to him, "Vous êtes tué morale-

Raphaël Weill, founder of The White House Department Store and a prominent member of the French Colony of San Francisco.

Photograph from the Society's collection

Jules Godeau was born in San Francisco in 1864. In 1886 he opened an undertaking parlor which still remains one of San Francisco's leading mortuaries. He was the publisher of *La Verité* in the early twenties, and very active in the life of the French Colony. *Photograph courtesy of his daughter, Mrs. Evelyn Ringen Keck.*

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— LE —

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IMP. L. LACAZE

No copies of this rare journal are known outside the Society's collection.
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ment." Either Marque or Larcher—it is not quite clear which—is called "Petclair," "Petobscur," and "Petaulit." Another article on Marque, dated September 10, is signed "Tapauquu" and "Tap-poh-Quuh." Other articles are signed "La Raie d'Action." Barra even found persons to assail in Los Angeles, especially Raskin, editor of *Le Gaulois,* and Ducommun, a successful merchant, to whom he alluded as "Traicommun" and "Très-Commun." On September 17 he mentions a young doctor, Marionnette, as being dangerous in households where the husband is about 60 and the wife about 20.

Barra was belligerent not only personally, but internationally. On February 28, 1888, he advocated a war by France against Germany. On April 23 he said, "Il est inévitable de croire que la guerre est une affaire de quelques jours. . . . Boulanger . . . est appelé à de hautes destinées. . . . la guerre s'impose." Three days later, "Boulanger est la guerre parce qu'il résume à lui seul la force, la volonté, l'énergie et la virilité nécessaires pour relever le gant. . . . il faut s'attendre à la guerre si Boulanger arrive au pouvoir"—a thing Barra hoped would happen. On June 18, now that Emperor Frederick has died, Barra cries, "Vienne la guerre! et haut les coeurs." On June 25, "La situation? C'est la guerre, à brève échéance; se le dissimuler c'est mentir à soi." By October 1 he is necessarily disabused about its being "une affaire de quelques jours," and contents himself with "une conflagration européenne, inévitable d'ici deux ou trois ans."

Far from feeling any obligation either to speak decently of the country he was living in, or to keep silent about it, he expressed himself concerning the United States as follows:

> . . . une nation vouée exclusivement à l'élevage du porc et à la moûture des grains. . . . nation mercantile, où la noblesse des sentiments est inconnue, lorqu'elle n'est point payée à tant la ligne. . . . la patrie par excellence des criminels. . . . pays où tout se vend, où tout s'achète, l'honneur au poids, et la capacité au décalitre.[42]

He accuses the United States of "manoeuvres honteuses" to cause the failure of the construction of the Panama Canal: "ces vipères qui se nomment l'Allemagne inhumaine, l'Amérique égoïste, l'Italie ingrate et l'Angleterre mercenaire." Harrison was elected over Cleveland because the presidency was put up at auction and "adjugée aux plus offrants." In spite of all, he is convinced that the Panama Canal "restera une oeuvre française. . . . [Il] va se terminer comme il a été commencé, avec des capitaux français." He is delighted because this will not please upholders of the Monroe Doctrine. Again, on December 20, 1888, he says, "Le canal de Panama se fera entièrement par des mains françaises."

Barra's fights sometimes got out of the pages of the journals on to the streets. Early in April, 1888, he had a fight on a street car with one Raas, the newly elected president of the French Mutual Benefit Society, a fight which Barra describes in his issue of April 12, to his own advantage. On various occasions he alludes to worse possibilities. On March 13 he had hinted at personal threats against him, and said he has to contend with "assassins payés par un prêtre," apparently a certain Abbé Castries. On April 26 he states that he has been informed that an attempt will be made on his life, but his answer to such threats is "Cambronne!" In June he inserts a notice, "Les personnes désireuses de *fourrer* ou de *ficher* une raclée aux rédacteurs, sont pries de vouloir bien joindre à leur demande, les fonds nècessaires pour guérir les rédacteurs des horions probables." On August 27 he claims to have received a letter reading, "si tu cointues à dèfendre les juiffs je te foutré une balle dans la tête; un de tes abonnai." On November 26 he again says he has been threatened, knows by what persons, and if forced to it will publish their names; he will give satisfaction to any who seek it honestly, but has never been a blackmailer and defies anyone to prove that "ma plume a été soldée." He adds that he was recently made the object of some kind of filthy assault (he does not state just what) by one Gustave Lapoulide, who had then fled, but had been arrested and fined $20, and had said in his defense, "Il avait insulté mes patrons."

By this time lawsuits and arrests were coming thick and fast on both sides. In the *Petit Californien* of August 5, 1888, Marque narrates an occasion when Barra did not confine his attacks to his pen. He relates that on the preceding Thursday he had been arrested on a libel warrant sworn out by Barra. He was freed an hour later on bail, but Larcher, who was arrested at the same time on a similar warrant was less lucky; it was so late that no judge could be found to approve his bail, and he had to spend the night under lock and key. Marque takes occasion to protest against this way of administering justice, since anyone is liable to arrest, even on the most trumped-up charge, and there should be some official available at all hours to receive bail. As it is, he says, an innocent person may be put in jail Saturday night and kept there until Monday because no judge can be located over the weekend. Marque says he does not know in what manner he has libeled Barra.

In the *Petit Californien* of December 23 of the same year the "Chronique locale" is even more concerned with Barra, in connection with a quarrel between him and "M. Rey, le chapelier," who for a time had been thought of as his almost inseparable friend. Rey was angered by Barra's published insults to the French consul, Carrey, which the latter, obeying instructions from superiors, had ignored. Rey, with Carrey's approval, had planned a meeting of members of the French colony to demand of Barra that he furnish proofs of his accusations. Barra, hearing of this, let Rey know, "dans ce style poli dont il a le secret, qu'il eût à se tenir tranquille, ou autrement. . . . Il y en avait deux colonnes." But Rey, as he proved many a time later as editor of the *Echo de l'Ouest*, was not the sort to "se tenir tranquille." Instead, he published a long anti-Barra pamphlet which everybody in the French colony read. *Le Bayard* replied and then Rey and Barra had each other arrested for libel, and Barra was re-arrested together with his printers, carriers, and vendors. Marque, who treats the whole affair humorously, tells of the strange defense offered: the vendors and carriers all claimed that they did not handle the number of *Le Bayard* dated December 6, in which the alleged libel appeared, while the printers (three brothers) protested that they did not understand a word of French and therefore did not know what they were printing, although one of them, says Marque, appearing as a witness against him and Larcher some three months earlier, had explained to the judge the "signification mystérieuse et coupable du mot *tricorne*." The discussion of this affair occupies so much of the *Petit Californien* that an installment of "Le Mariage de Célestine" is omitted.

That same December the San Francisco *Examiner* took notice of the situation in a short article titled "A Reckless French Editor." By January, 1889, *Le Bayard* was involved in ten lawsuits, three criminal and two civil against it and two criminal and three civil in which it was the plaintiff. At a meeting of the French colony on April 8, 1889, Barra tried to speak against the committee for the celebration of the centenary of the fall of the Bastille; it seems that he had been furious because he had no part in the celebration of the preceding year, and had called the chairman of the meeting, Raoul Chartray, "President Buggy." On this occasion, Raphaël Weill got the floor instead and said, "Je demande qu'on n'accorde pas la parole à un homme qui a été déclaré coupable par un jury américain et qui se trouve sous le coup d'une condamnation infamante." A riot nearly ensued, but the motion was carried, and Barra and a number of his supporters left the hall and held a meeting of their own. Léon Rey swore out three separate warrants for the arrest of Barra, who hid for a while, but was finally arrested on July 4. He jumped his bail and disappeared.

The *Examiner* of July 24, 1889, stated that it had received the following telegram from Chicago: "I protest against the infamous lies circulated against me. On the 10th of August I shall be back again. Barra." The *Examiner* continues, "At one time Deshayes was the recognized leader of 2,000 French citizens, who upheld him in his course. His attacks ... on many worthy gentlemen who did not agree with his views, however, resulted in weakening his adherents to a great extent." The article goes on to say that a bench warrant had been issued for his arrest, but he could not be found; his friends asserted, however, that he had not left the city and that he had promised to speak on July 14 in Central Park. Meanwhile *Le Bayard* had been attached, and its publication ceased, the last issue being that of April 27, No. 139. On March 19, 1890, the *Examiner* published a short article, "Barra Still Lives," in which it was stated that he had again communicated with the editor, declaring that *Le Bayard* would resume and would wipe out all scores, in spite of the evident cowardice of those who had tried to have Barra assassinated the preceding July. Actually one more number was published. It was dated New York, October 29, and San Francisco, November 6, but was mailed from Antwerp, and the editor's address was given as Southampton, England. It was numbered 182, but the numbers between this and No. 139 were probably never really published.

This final issue contains an open letter to the *Examiner* throwing more light on the allusion in Barra's previous letter to an attempt to assassinate him. Being now safely out of the jurisdiction of California law, he does not hesitate to accuse Raphaël Weill of the deed. In this letter, he claims to have been so badly injured in an attempt to murder him near Reno by Weill's "sicaires" that for fifteen months he was invalided and unable to see, as a consequence of this "lâche attentat." He is very vague as to particulars, as to just where the alleged attack occurred, how the attackers escaped, and how he himself was cared for afterwards; nor does Barra explain the telegrams from Chicago, in which there is no hint of his not being perfectly well. In this same issue Barra says he attacked Carrey, the French Hospital, and many others because of various kinds of moral turpitude, fraud, and theft; "L'abbé de Castries, parent de MacMahon, parce qu'il traînait en mauvais lieux sa soutane; les souteneurs de Dupontstreet (Grant Ave.), parce que professeurs de jour comme l'Archet du violon, chargés d'enseigner dans les familles françaises, ils redevenaient la nuit, *Alphonses nocturnes;* Raphaël Weill, non parce qu'il était israélite, mais juif dans toute l'acceptation du mot, trafiquant de l'honneur français." He claims to have challenged Raas and Weill to duels; the former, he said, made abject apologies ("plates excuses"). The latter had his coachman leave a protest to the effect that dueling was against the law, but a month and a half later, in the train, tried to have Barra murdered by "deux souteneurs." But now, says Barra, he is going to keep the promise made two years ago to publish a work "destinée à rectifier l'Histoire des Français en Californie de Daniel Lévy." His epoch-making work, to be called "Alphonses juifs et vierges folles," begins in this issue—and also, sad to relate—ends in it without having progressed to a point where any reputations are damaged. Nothing more is heard of Barra or of *Le Bayard.* The *Examiner* of November 10, 1890, under the heading "Le Bayard Redivivus," tells of the receipt of the last number and gives a picture of Barra, in which he appears with a mustache and small square beard, and of his wife. She had at first believed that he had actually been murdered by hired assassins, and that the letters purporting to be from him were not genuine. On being interviewed by an *Examiner* reporter, she admitted that she now thought he was alive, and could not understand why he had ignored her since his disappearance. She was hoping to receive a message from him asking her to join him. From then on both of them drop out of sight.

Faction and Factional Papers, 1890 to 1906

Before the advent of Barra disunion and strife in the French colony had been sporadic and mostly between individuals and a limited number of their supporters, with a majority of the members not involved. There had been, indeed, some violent discussion centering around the Société Française de Bienfaisance Mutuelle and the French Hospital, which formed its most important element—such an organization always seems to be a breeding-ground of controversy and a hotbed of politics. The San Francisco institution had been founded in 1851, largely through the efforts of Derbec, and as early as 1859, according to Lévy, a meeting held to discuss the question of requiring a French medical diploma for doctors at the hospital became so boisterous that it almost broke up in disorder. The principal speakers on that occasion were editors Chemin and Thiele, and a man named Nolf, who became president of the Society in 1870.

Soon after the disappearance of Barra the colony was definitely split into two factions, one led by A. Legallet and later by Raphaël Weill, and the other by Jean André Bergerot and his son, Pierre Alexandre. Jean André was a Frenchman from Oloron, who at the age of twelve had made the voyage around Cape Horn to San Francisco unaccompanied, with the consent of his widowed mother. The day after he landed he found work with a French truck-gardening firm, and by the time he was fifteen he had a truck-gardening business of his own. Later he made a success in brokerage and banking. Pierre Alexandre was born in San Francisco in 1867, and became a prominent lawyer. In 1899 he was elected president of the San Francisco Board of Education. The Bergerots founded a society called the Ligue Henri IV in January, 1895. According to their supporters, their object in so doing was to end a monopoly; according to their adversaries, it was to establish one and "mettre la main sur la colonie." They soon did succeed in ousting several of the most prominent persons connected with the management of the hospital, including Dr. Brigham, an American surgeon who had been decorated with the Legion of Honor for his services to the French army in 1870-1871. An attempt to reconcile the two factions was made by Charles Carpy, one step being the purchase of the *Franco-Californien* by a committee composed equally of members of both parties.

But the Bergerot faction, feeling that the paper under editor Gay (who died soon afterwards) favored the Legallet policies, started in 1899 a rival journal, *La France.* Its life was short. The Bergerot faction next bought Xavier Méfret's *L'Impartial Californien,* and to combat this *Le Réveil* was founded in 1904 with André (also known as Pierre-Marie) Maubailly as editor. It lasted until 1906. Meanwhile, in 1902, Orlando Bozio, who had become president of the board of the *Franco-Californien,* brought Augustin Lusinchi, a Corsican, from Paris, where he had worked for *Le Temps,* to be editor and director of that paper, which was now definitely an organ of the Bergerot interests, and remained without a serious rival until the appearance of Léon Rey's *Echo de l'Ouest.*

La France, as stated, was begun as an organ of the Bergerot faction, on March 22, 1899. It was a daily, consisting of four pages of six columns each. The editor was Amaury Mars and the administrator A. Bergez. About half the paper was made up of advertising and of notices from the French consulate. No. 18, April 10, 1899, is quite representative. The only news item on the front page is an account of the fourth banquet of the Ligue Henri IV, which had taken place the night before in the "magnifique salle du Poodle Dog," a famous French restaurant in which Bergez had an interest. With more enthusiasm than knowledge of French grammar, the article uses the term "maître-ès-banquet" in praising one Pouchan, the master of ceremonies, and refers to Jule Godeau as "l'indispensable, irrésistible Jules, toujours de tous les comités et de toutes les sauces." There are speeches by Alexandre Bergez and P. Alexandre Bergerot, asking why the Ligue is ignored by the "soi-disant organe officiel de la Colonie française"—meaning the *Franco-Californien*—which in paying tribute to the French societies in San Francisco had not even mentioned the existence of the Ligue Henri IV. There is a notice that solicitors for advertisements and subscriptions are not authorized to receive money, and another, "La rédaction ne signant pas ses articles, elle ne sera par conséquent pas responsable des articles signés par nos collaborateurs." Among "nouvelles locales" are the remark that the future president of the University of California may be Benjamin Ide Wheeler of Cornell, who has all the qualities for such a post; an item about a Japanese bicyclist who was lassoed by the police while "scorching" in the park and fined ten dollars; and another about one Maguire who, for throwing a glass of beer in a waiter's face "a été placé au frais sous le City Hall," evidently a close rendering of "in the cooler." There is also a feuilleton, "Drapeaux Ennemis," by Alphonse Daudet. *La France* was published at 533 Kearny Street. It claimed to be "considéré à juste titre comme l'organe français le plus répandu en Californie," a somewhat startling claim on the part of a journal less than a month old, and hardly substantiated by subsequent events, for the paper gave up the ghost after a mere thirty-five issues, and its editor, Mars, sued the "Société de Publication," of which P. A. Bergerot and Bergez were members, to recover $800 for editorial services.

L'Impartial Californien was a weekly, established on January 20, 1897, by Xavier Méfret, who besides being manager of the paper was a teacher of French in Heald's Business College. It had four pages of five columns each, sold for 20 cents a month or $2.40 a year, and was published Saturdays at 729 Montgomery Street. At the top of the front page was a picture of the Statue of Liberty with the legend, "Du choc des idées jaillit la lumière." It stated that it was a "journal hebdomadaire, politique littéraire et commercial, édité par la Société Française de Publication." Just what persons composed the Society was not made clear. A column in the first issue gives a facetious and doubtless imaginary telephone conversation between an anonymous caller and a representative of the paper, presumably Méfret himself, in which the former asks who the members of the Society are, and the latter replies that they preserve the strictest incognito. "X. Méfret, Gérant" is the only member of the staff whose name appears until June 5, 1897, when there are added the names of "Th. Gay, Rédacteur en Chef," and "A. B. Chevral, Rédacteur.' Beginning December 25, 1897, Méfret's name is followed by "Officier d'Académie." On January 8, 1898, the name of Chevral is replaced by that of A. Richet, who had been contributing a "revue commerciale," and Méfret explains that this change is an "acte de justice, et dont nous ne regrettons que le caractère tardif." The same issue announces the appointment of Georges Méfret as agent.

An "Avant-Propos" in the first issue, over the signature of the Society, tells that the writer or writers had no idea a month ago of founding a periodical, but that the sudden disappearance of *Le Petit*

Californien left a gap that seemed to require filling. The writer disclaims any special talent, but asserts his honesty, declares that he will be impartial, since—although on good terms with all members of the French colony—he belongs to no faction, and does not intend to take sides with any, but only to pursue justice. At the same time he states, "Nous sommes républicains sincères et convaincus, progressistes avoués sans ombre de radicalisme." The *Impartial Californien* seems to have made an earnest effort through 1897 and 1898 to justify its name. When Zola was condemned to a year of imprisonment and a fine of 3000 francs for his part in the Dreyfus affair, the writer of an unsigned editorial (in the issue of February 26, 1898) confesses that he is too bewildered to form an opinion in the whole matter, including of course the innocence or guilt of Dreyfus, and says, "Une chose, une seule, se dégage clairement de tout cela: C'est le mal qui a été fait." He hopes there will be no war between the United States and Spain, and while he is critical of much of the American press for trying sensationally to prejudge the issue and stir up bellicose feeling, he refrains from taking sides or predicting the outcome of such a war, except to say that the superior resources of the United States should prevail in the long run. Méfret and his staff did not succeed, however, in keeping neutral within the San Francisco French colony, and soon became the objects of enmity of the Ligue Henri IV and P. Alexandre Bergerot.

The contents of *L'Impartial* were much like those of the other French journals of the period in San Francisco: editorial articles, bits of local news, "dernières dépêches," occasional verse, a feuilleton or serial story, usually if not always reprinted, official notices, and advertising. The column of imaginary telephone conversations, always beginning "Allo, *Impartial?*" ran until April 16, 1898, when it was replaced by a "Petite Chronique." There was also a "Chronique Locale." The first issue mentions the murder of a rich Chinese known as "Little Pete," who had more than once been in trouble with the law but had always slipped out. He was shot down by members of an enemy tong, and the writer comments that characters of his stamp will not be missed, and that so long as no whites are cut down by stray bullets there should be no objection to further thinning of the ranks of the "vaste cloaque" of San Francisco Chinese by this method. On July 31, 1898, appears an item with a startlingly familiar ring: the University of California has refused entrance credits to thirty-seven high schools in San Francisco, Oakland, and Berkeley because of their defective teaching of English.

The issue of July 8, 1899, shows an increase in size, the paper now having six pages of six columns each. It sold for 6 cents a copy. Under "Petite Chronique" an article signed L. B. mentions the suit brought by Amaury Mars against the publishers of the recently defunct *La France*. The writer is facetious; he speaks of the "décès prématuré" of *La France*, and wonders what will happen if the suit brought by Mars, who has "la réputation d'une très belle fourchette," inspires lesser workers for the paper to sue in their turn. Among the advertisements are those of the Union Pacific's "Train Eclair" to Chicago, Léon Rey's "Chapellerie Française," "A. Ruef, Avocat Français," Fugazi's travel agency (with pictures of a train and an ocean liner of a period about thirty years earlier), and the Grand Opera House, where a performance of *Carmen* is to be given: admission 15 cents, reserved seats 25 and 50 cents.

During Méfret's regime, at least, the paper was well printed and remarkably free from misprints and other errors. The plural "verroux" may have been a misprint; so much can hardly be said for the solecism (or "affreux barbarisme," as the famous scholar Brunot calls it) "en lesquels," which appeared in the issue of February 26, 1898. Méfret died in 1902, and Richet took his place as manager. He was succeeded the following year by Edouard Joseph Dupuy, a teacher at Polytechnic High School and former editor and publisher of *Le Relèvement*. In 1903 or 1904 the *Impartial* passed under the control of its former opponent, P. Alexandre Bergerot, and became the organ of the Bergerot faction in the colony. Dupuy continued as editor, and during the latter part of the paper's career he taught French at the Girls' High School in San Francisco. No. 479, tenth year, April 9, 1906—after the Bergerot faction had acquired the paper—was published at 602 Commercial Street, and announces itself as "organe hebdomadaire des populations de langue française sur la côte du Pacifique. Paraît le lundi. 5 cents." It consists of four pages, of which about one and a half are taken up with advertising. There are also notices about the Société Française de Bienfaisance Mutuelle, with lists of officers, and of doctors who give free consultations to members ("aux offices des docteurs"); an editorial about the development of dirigibles; "Nouvelles diverses," short items from foreign countries other than France; notices and lists of the Ligue Henri IV and the Société de Secours Mutuels, of which Bergerot and Godeau were officers; news items from France under the heading "A Travers la France"; and a list of births, marriages, and deaths (copied from *Le Petit Champsaurin)*, taken from the official records of 1905 of Chabottes, Chabottonnes, Les Infournas, and Molines, four insignificant places in the departments of Hautes-Alpes and Isère—one wonders why.

The leading article on the front page concerns the election of officers of the Société Française de Bienfaisance Mutuelle, which had just taken place, and in which the Bergerot faction had been victorious over the opposition, led by Maubailly. The article is signed "J. Baby," a pen name of Edouard Dupuy, and is rather gloating in tone, as may be seen from the following extract:

> Tout ce que peut dire l'ami Maubailly sur ce scrutin est impuissant à détruire les faits, et le raisonnement cocasse auquel il se livre dans son dernier article ne mérite même pas les honneurs de la discussion.... Il faut vraiment être inconscient, comme ce pauvre Pierre-Marie pour oser sortir des arguments semblables à ceux qui émaillent sa dernière élucubration. Il y a trois ans, *Le Réveil* n'existait pas. Ceux qui devaient devenir plus tard les amis de Maubailly tentèrent à cette époque de lutter pour les élections de l'hôpital. Ils furent battus, c'est vrai, mais en somme, ils ne firent pas trop triste figure lors des élections de 1904. A la suite de leur échec, ils fondèrent le *Réveil* et en avril 1905, ce journal présentait la liste qu'on sait aux suffrages des sociétaires, après avoir mené contre le Comité en fonctions une violente campagne de presse. Cette fois, ce fut la déroute pour les amis de Maubailly.... Les élus de dimanche sont... bien rassurés. Tant que le *Réveil* comptera comme rédacteur l'ami Maubailly, ils n'auront rien à craindre d'un retour de l'opinion.[43]

The writer probably did not foresee such a formidable adversary as Léon Rey, nor the later presence of Maubailly on his own side, which he might have considered a drawback. The staff writers of *L'Impartial* seem to have been fond of pseudonyms. Dupuy appears not only as Baby, but also as Euphrasie Potin. Bergerot is disguised as Sylvain Nemo, and Augustin Lusinchi as Jehan Du Bief; in addition there is one Alice Frivole, real name unknown, but possibly Jules Godeau. The writer of the article quoted above in part little suspected how short a time not only *Le Réveil* but also *L'Impartial Californien* had left to live. Nine days later came the great earthquake and fire, which ended the career of both papers.

As already indicated, *Le Réveil,* a weekly, was founded in 1904, financed by the Legallet faction and edited by Pierre-Marie Maubailly. Its express purpose was to oppose the Bergerot faction, represented by *L'Impartial Californien* and the *Franco-Californien,* but apparently it did not meet with much success in that role. Its plant was destroyed by fire following the earthquake in April, 1906, and Legallet did not care to advance further funds to re-establish it. Maubailly then went over to the Bergerot forces and became one of the editors of the *Franco-Californien,* thereby incurring the enmity of Léon Rey, who made him the object of scornful allusions in the *Echo de l'Ouest.*

Other Journalistic Ventures, 1890-1906

Edouard Joseph Dupuy initiated a small semi-monthly magazine, *Le Relèvement,* on November 1, 1894. It was about 9 by 12 inches, 16 pages, with advertising on the inside and outside of both covers; the price was 10 cents a copy, $1.50 a year. The printers were H. Carle and Co. Besides Dupuy, the staff included Professor Samuel J. Brun of Stanford University; Dr. M. P. Hus, an eye, ear, nose, and throat specialist who has his advertisement on the back cover; and a Paris correspondent, L. Marillier, agrégé de philosophie. The contents of No. 11, April 1, 1895, included: "Mes Dadas," by Frédéric Passy, Membre de l'Institut; "La Délégation Ouvrière Française à Chicago," by Alfred Bourgeois, directeur du *Républicain des Vosges;* "Poésie Inédite," by Jules Lemaître; "La Coopération à Stanford University," by Brun; "Lettre de Paris," by Marillier; "L'Emigration Allemande," extracted from the *Signal Hebdomadaire;* "Coin du Docteur," by Dr. Hus; "Emile Zola," by x x x; and a feuilleton, "Pierrette," by Balzac. Besides the foregoing there were a few paragraphs on local matters called "La Quinzaine," and a page of short editorial comments. Dr. Hus's article in this issue was "La Maladie et la Mort de François II, roi de France," and Lemaître's poem is "A Une Petite Fille qui Faisait des Proses." The unsigned article on Zola, which was far from complimentary, was marked "A suivre," but no continuation appeared. The issue of May states the aims of the periodical: "Propager, par l'intermédiaire de notre Revue, une bonne et forte littérature. Faire connaître autour de nous les idées françaises exprimées par des Français, en langue française. La devise du RELÈVEMENT: Faire bien en faisant mieux." This issue has an article by the editor, "Encore une Fois!", castigating the low state of public and private morals in San Francisco. "Notre société se trouve à ce point d'énervement moral, qu'elle ne distingue plus le bien du mal."

No. 18 appeared July 15, but No. 19 not until October 15. An editorial says that many readers must have wondered what had happened; no detailed explanation is given, but the editor says "LE RELÈVEMENT se relève et compte reprendre avec une énergie nouvelle une campagne sérieuse, raisonnée, ne perdant pas de vue son programme tant de fois répété. . . . Nous avons l'intention de lutter contre ces manifestations hostiles"—i.e., of the American press toward France. The front cover of this number announces that *Le Relèvement* will soon begin its second year, and in order to attain "une extension plus grande," the Relèvement Publishing Company, incorporated last June, will sell stock at $1.00 a share. Such an announcement is likely to be the precursor of disaster. The editor reminds his readers, "LE RELÈVEMENT est la *seule* Revue strictement française publiée aux Etats-Unis." By February 22, 1896, the dimensions were reduced to 9 by 10¼ inches and the number of pages to 12; the price increased to $2.50 a year, for the magazine had become a weekly, at 5 cents a copy. It now calls itself a "Revue Politique, Littéraire et de Famille." Some time during 1896 its existence ended. Most of its articles were well written, the type was clear, and there were few misprints. A contemporary, who knew Dupuy, gives a curious reason for "the short life of the newspaper of that erudite gentleman." "His greatest fault," says the contemporary, "was that he was a Protestant. One can never go very far in a foreign land with that handicap if he is to deal with French people exclusively." He says, indeed, that Dupuy was not only a Protestant, he was a Protestant clergyman. After the failure of *Le Relèvement* he joined the staff of *L'Impartial Californien.*

The San Francisco city directory for 1897 lists a monthly publication, *Le Petit Courrier*, edited and published at 590 Parrott Building by Mrs. J. J. Owen. The journal does not appear in later directories, and no information has been found about it or Mrs. Owen.

April Fool's Day, 1896, saw the inception of *Le Tam-Tam*, "journal satirique et amusant," published by Victor Branquart, a French printer, at his shop at Room 1, 509 Kearny Street, San Francisco. It was on good quality paper and consisted entirely of jokes and humorous articles, interspersed (except on the front page) with advertising. It sold for 10 cents a month, $1.00 a year in San Francisco, and $2.00 elsewhere, and was published on Wednesdays and Saturdays. The first number had four pages—8¼ by 12 inches—increased to 6 on April 22nd and to 8 on June 3rd. Soon after the first issue the longer articles took precedence over the short jokes, and occasionally one of them constituted the entire contents of an issue, except for the advertisements. Some of these articles were unsigned; others bore well-known names, such as Georges Courteline. Although *Le Tam-Tam* showed every outward indication of being prosperous, it apparently did not last out the year. It is not listed in the Crocker-Langley city directories of either 1896 or 1897; since the directory began its year with April 1, and that was the date of the first issue of the *Tam-Tam*, one may surmise that it was too late to get into the 1896 edition and that it had ceased to exist when the 1897 edition was being prepared.

The San Francisco city directory for 1898 lists a weekly called *L'Indépendant*, published by Hippolyte Carle. No information has been discovered about it, and even Carle's two sons, who succeeded him in the printing business, have no recollection of it. Hardly better known is *La Violette*, which appears in the city directories from 1899 through 1905 as edited by Cyr Melquiond at 220 Montgomery Street. No details have been found about it; one of the well-known members of the French colony, who had himself been engaged in journalism, described it as mainly a slander sheet and said that it was mimeographed.

Although classified in the city directory under newspapers, *L'Echo de Notre-Dame des Victoires* was not really one. The first number, which appeared on March 1, 1901, states its purpose: "Ce modeste bulletin mensuel que nous présentons pour la première fois au public français de San Francisco, n'est destiné, comme son titre l'indique, qu'à s'occuper des choses d'Eglise, et, en particulier, de ce qui concerne l'Eglise Française Notre-Dame des Victoires." It will also be "l'organe de toutes les sociétés attachées à l'Eglise Française," seven of which are mentioned by name. The paper measured approximately 4½ by 7½ inches, and ran to about 16 pages. The price was a dollar a year, payable in advance. It was edited by the Marist Fathers of the parish of Notre-Dame des Victoires, and printed by H. J. Carle, 1320 Stockton Street. Its contents consisted mostly of homilies and exhortations, some of which were signed, others not. Some of the issues contained a few advertisements, and quotations from authors such as Michelet and de Musset. It was originally a monthly, but the December 1901 number announces that beginning with January it will appear twice a month, without any increase in price. Beginning with September, 1902, however, it reverted to appearing on the first of the month only. With the issue of October 1, 1903, it adopted a much larger format, 8 by 11½ inches, but the number of pages was reduced to half as many as before. The articles were in general well written, though one of them contains the combination "en lequel," which has been characterized as a barbarism. Publication ceased in 1906, doubtless as a consequence of the earthquake and fire, which destroyed the church and parish house.

Known only from the first two issues—perhaps all there were—is the *Journal d'Hygiène et de Santé*, "Journal Mensuel des Connaissances utiles à la Conservation de la Santé." No. 1 is dated September, 1904, and No. 2 October; the first has eight pages and the second sixteen; the first is about 6 by 8½ inches and the second about half an inch shorter in both ways. On the cover appear the un-French names of "Rédacteur: Docteur G. W. Hillegass" and "Collaborateur: Docteur F. L. Wright," at their "Bureau, Chambre 5, 24 rue 6me, San Francisco."

CHAPTER IV

NORTHERN CALIFORNIA: FEUD AND FACTION, 1907-1926; 1927-

Factional Journals, 1906-1926—Rey and Lusinchi

The *Franco-Californien* survived the disaster of 1906, although its editorial and printing offices were destroyed and its personnel dispersed. Publication was not interrupted more than a few days, but the paper became a weekly and for a short time was printed across the bay in Berkeley, with type lacking French accents. The "bureau provisoire" was at 2632 California Street, San Francisco. The exact date on which publication resumed is not given, but the issue of May 12 alludes to its having been published on May 4. This issue, which is reduced in size to 15 inches, is headed, *Le Franco-Californien et Courrier de San Francisco,* and it already calls itself "le doyen de la presse Californienne"—by which must be understood the French press. As yet the postal service was disrupted and the telegraph service was irregular, and the paper says that for at least eight or nine days after the catastrophe the telegraph companies charged 39 cents a word for cables to Europe, which they sent as far as New York by ordinary mail. There are still numerous advertisements. Before the end of May the paper began to appear twice a week, and on July 14 it became once more a daily. The issue of July 17, 1908, lists on its staff "Jean Bernard, correspondant parisien." It has four pages of seven columns each, and sells for 5 cents a copy, 25 cents a week, $1.00 a month, $11.50 a year. A weekly Saturday edition sells for 10 cents. There is relatively little news, the last three pages being mostly advertising, with a feuilleton.

A souvenir number was published in connection with the 1915 Panama-Pacific Exposition, containing among other things an article about the French in California, mentioning that the Basques and Dauphinois went in for sheep-herding and that in San Francisco the majority were from Dauphiné, Béarn, and Aveyron, and lived mostly in the North Beach and Butchertown districts, the latter grouped around the Legallet-Hellwig tannery and the Bayle and Lacoste tripe and fertilizer factory. By this time the paper had been enlarged to eight columns to the page, and contained a larger amount of news in proportion to advertising. The issue of July 14, 1915, does not even mention the French national holiday, in contrast to the *Echo de l'Ouest,* which made a great deal of it every year, and especially during the first World War. At this time the proper observance of that day was a bone of contention between the two journals.

On March 30, 1909, Laurent Casas founded a weekly, *L'Echo de l'Ouest.* It was mainly a business periodical, but even so it apparently did not please the editors of the *Franco-Californien,* and Lusinchi is quoted as having said that it would be dead in three months. When the Spanish government executed Francisco Ferrer in October, 1909, Casas wrote on article in the *Echo* glorifying his memory, which drew attacks on him from Lusinchi. Soon after this the paper was acquired by Léon Rey, who had already contributed to it on various occasions. The French press of San Francisco never knew a more forceful and energetic personality than Léon Rey. He was born in Nîmes in 1854. An accident crippled him in childhood, and he always walked with a cane. After three years in Paris he went to New York, where the first of his four sons was born, and a few years later, in 1885, he moved to San Francisco. Neither then nor for many years to come did he have any thought of journalism—he had learned the hatter's trade, and established a hat store in which all the hats were entirely of his own manufacture. In 1887 his men's hats won a silver medal at a fair. The earthquake and fire of 1906 destroyed his business, and three years later he entered the field of journalism, and in a few years made *L'Echo* the leading French newspaper on the Pacific coast. On April 3, 1911, he converted it to a daily, though a weekly edition, appearing on Fridays, continued to be published. The daily had four pages of eight columns each, and was priced at 5 cents a copy, 65 cents monthly. It styled itself "Organe des Populations de Langue Française de la Côte du Pacifique," as well as "The French Daily Newspaper having the largest circulation in the United States." It did, at all events, soon attain the largest circulation of any French newspaper on the Pacific coast, and had great influence.

Although in the later stages of his editorial career Rey took on some assistants, to all intents and purposes he and the *Echo* were one. Lusinchi and his friends used to accuse Rey of manhandling French grammar and syntax, a charge that was not without some foundation, and in addition the *Echo* seems to have had more than its share of the misprints and anglicisms characteristic of California French journals. On one occasion even the date of the paper was misprinted; the issue of June 2, 1921, appears with June 3 on every page. Among the anglicisms were "gasoline" or "gazoline," "interférer avec," "électrocutié," "un agrément" (agreement), and "traversé par" (run over by), to mention only a few. Some of the misprints were so unbelievable as to seem almost deliberately comical. Scopes of the famous "monkey trial" was printed as "Scapes"; the Far West became "le Fart West"; Jekyll and Hyde appeared as "Hekyll et Hudo," and one sentence read, "Vidons notre bas de laine sur l'hôtel de la patrie."

For many years, with brief intermissions, the *Echo* carried on a series of violent polemics with Lusinchi, the *Franco-Californien,* and the Bergerots, and later with Godeau's *La Vérité.* Although Rey never minced words and used the strongest terms in characterizing the objects of his aversions, whether persons or things, he was a very different type from Barra, and indeed had been instrumental in driving the latter from California. He was a liberal, in fact more or less a Socialist, a sympathizer with the under-dog, an unremitting fighter for what he considered just, and essentially honest. He opposed the Bergerots and anyone else who seemed to him to be seeking to wield dictatorial power in the French colony and its institutions. Apparently he disliked Lusinchi from the start, for he quotes one Victor Gardet as having said to him, soon after the arrival of Lusinchi in San Francisco, "Nous avons un autre Barra parmi nous." During the period, covering a number of years, when the quarrel was particularly acute, some of the epithets applied in the *Echo de l'Ouest* to Lusinchi and the *Franco-Californien* were: un goujat, hypocrites et fourbes, voleurs,[44] "renard bonapartiste" masked as "mouton républicain," l'ancien camelot du roi, bande anti-française que nous pourrions traiter d'Allemands, menteur, imbécile, un raté, un fruit sec, bluffeurs, ânes bâtés, un imposteur, a reactionary monarchist sheet. There is one allusion to the "crétinisme de Lusinchi." None of these epithets called forth anything more serious from the latter than replies in kind, though of less vigor, such as "unfarceur" un Trotsky, and "le vieux renard qui est l'ineffable directeur de *l'Echo de l'Ouest,*" which was referred to as "une feuille de chou." On the other hand, the *Franco-Californien* having been so incautious, in 1912, as to intimate that Rey had converted to his own use funds of the 14th of July Committee, Rey sued Lusinchi and Maubailly. Monnet, the French consul, prevailed upon him to drop the suit against the latter but not against the former, and Lusinchi was sentenced to a fine of $500 or 250 days in jail, a fact of which Rey reminded him on more than one occasion in the *Echo.* During the trial of this suit it came out that Lusinchi had had trouble of the same kind in France, and Rey blamed the Bergerots and their clique for being reduced to giving the management of their journal to "un individu condamné en France à la prison pour insultes au gouvernement de la République." Another charge which Rey on several occasions brought up against Lusinchi was that although he called himself a reserve officer of the French army, he did not offer his services and stayed in America during the war. In March, 1915, Rey quoted Maubailly as having said in front of witnesses ten years earlier that the leaders of the faction which he later joined were "les plus sales crapules et les plus grandes canailles que la colonie ait jamais produits" [sic]. Yet this same Maubailly, says Rey, is now "le servile serviteur de ceux qu'à ce moment il fustigeait." The *Echo* calls him a "pitre," and the attacks by him and Lusinchi "l'aboiement des roquets."

As early as 1911 Rey had succeeded in getting a list of candidates elected to the 14th of July Committee in opposition to the Bergerot list, and the following year the Bergerots countered by forming a "Société du 14 Juillet," but when Monnet became consul the Comité Officiel was formed against the opposition of Lusinchi, and was henceforth the only one recognized. Monnet's predecessor, Méron, had sided with the Bergerots and had twice treated Rey with contumely, but Rey quoted a letter from him in January, 1920, in which he apologized for these acts, and said, "Je ne me suis pas conduit vis-à-vis de vous comme un bon chrétien aurait dû faire, et je viens vous prier de me pardonner."

We learn from the *Echo de l'Ouest* that in or about 1915 Lusinchi started a paper called *Le Blagueur* for the purpose of attacking the French consul, Raphaël Weill, and other antagonists in terms he did not venture to print in the *Franco-Californien* for fear of unfavorable reaction on the part of some of the directors. It is reported that *Le Blagueur*—of which no copies have been found—was sent free to a number of people, but so many returned it that publication was soon dropped.

The quarrel between Rey and the Bergerots and Lusinchi became particularly acrid shortly after the outbreak of the first World War, over a fund of 100,000 francs, or $20,000, knowns as "le fonds de l'Avenir." In 1870, a majority of the French colony in San Francisco were from Alsace and Lorraine. They contributed one million francs to the national defense. After the Treaty of Frankfurt they formed the Ligue de la Délivrance, soon afterwards incorporated under California law as the Ligue Nationale Française, with the motto "*Tout pour la Patrie*." Article 12 of their charter stated that the funds of the League were "inaliénables et sacrées," except in the case of national danger to France or of negotiations for the redemption of the lost provinces. Article 13 provided that if the Ligue were dissolved, the funds were to be turned over to the French government, and further articles said that these two could not be modified under any pretext nor for any circumstance. Rey felt that with the war of 1914 the time had obviously come to give the money to France. "Mais le loup veillait et rôdait autour de la bergerie," he says in an editorial dated December 31, 1914, "... un beau matin, profitant d'une dispute entre les bergers, il pénétra dans le bercail. Le voilà maître aujourd'hui, et rien ne sera fait sans sa volonté. Il a décidé que les $20,000 devaient rester ici! La France pour lui ne compte pas!" The wolves, of course, were the Bergerots and their supporters. Their argument was that France was rich and had been lending money to other nations, that she had spent two million francs in San Francisco, and that anyway, the 100,000 francs of the Ligue would be merely a drop in the bucket, and that the interest on the funds was needed for the upkeep of the French Library. They also claimed that by California law the statutes of any organization incorporated in the state could be changed by a two-thirds vote, and they had just succeeded in obtaining such a vote. Raas, president of the Ligue, protested, and on January 4, 1915, offered his resignation, at the same time recommending that the motto "*Tout pour la Patrie*" be abolished. A few days later Rey and Emile Lévy resigned. The *Franco-Californien* gave its approval to the vote.

In February, 1915, the dispute was further envenomed by the transfer of consul Monnet to Cardiff and his replacement by Neltner. Rey declared that Bergerot had been telling the colony that it was through a complaint by him that Monnet had been removed, and that the notice of the transfer had been sent to him from France and by him communicated to Monnet; this statement had been made in an interview with a reporter from the *Examiner*, says Rey, so that the Americans should know that he, Bergerot, was the "homme influent" in the colony. In rebuttal of this, Rey published a cablegram from Delcassé, French Minister of Foreign Affairs, saying that the transfer was made at Monnet's request, so that he could be near his family, and was no personal reflection on him. On March 26 Rey published "Un Dialogue des Morts," recounting an imaginary dream, in which he was dead and met the shade of Emile Marque, "le seul journaliste français qu'ait jamais possédé San Francisco." Marque expressed incredulity on hearing that the Ligue Nationale Française had not sent one sou to help France, and asked, "Raphaël Weill, Sylvain Weill, Emile Raas, Daniel Lévy, Legallet, Goustiaux ne sont donc plus?" Rey replied that they were all still alive except Lévy, but that the trinity Bergerot Père, Fils, et Spiritu Santo controlled the Ligue. At this Marque exclaimed indignantly, "Si seulement ils avaient relu la collection du *Petit Californien!*" Rey kept up his fight. For days on end he had a column on his front page headed "Les 1000 000 francs de la Ligue"; the words of the article were different each day but the tenor was the same. In connection with this and other subjects of dispute he wrote, "*L'Echo de l'Ouest* a été créé pour démasquer toutes ces fourberies." On March 29, 1915, he had an editorial carrying as title an alleged quotation from Bergerot: "La Société de Bienfaisance, c'est moi." On September 28 he expressed his indignation at the news that the "bande noire" was proposing to use the 100,000 francs to buy French war bonds—in other words to *lend* to France the money that should have been *given* to her and to get 5% interest on it (actually more, because at that time the dollar exchange in French money was 125%). "Plus fort que Shylock!" he exclaims.

There were other subjects of discord between Rey and the *Franco-Californien* than the fund. Rey succeeded in 1915 in getting a ticket elected that was headed by Raphaël Weill in opposition to the Bergerots; indeed Weill, who owned the *Echo*, was his hero, and his name and picture appeared frequently in the paper, to the irritation of Lusinchi, who complained, "Lui, toujours lui!" Rey said that Lusinchi, when he was first brought to San Francisco by Bozio, "l'homme de Barra," had promised, "Je mangerai du juif tous les matins," and that he had put out his defamatory sheet called *Le Blagueur* to attack Weill and his friends. Rey also accused the *Franco-Californien* of plagiarism and falsification; but the chief topic of the dispute, aside from the fund, was the celebration of the 14th of July. The *Echo* supported the idea of a charity ball to be given on July 14 for the families of French soldiers. Lusinchi opposed it, saying it would be a sort of Moulin Rouge, and that by paying fifty cents the Boches could come in "and pinch the French girls." The Bergerot party wanted no celebration at all on July 14, considering it unseemly at a time when France was in such peril. One Bousquet had remarked, "Il n'y a que la racaille qui assistera à cette célébration." In reply, Rey wants to know why it is worse to dance on July 14 than in April, seeing that Bousquet was one of a group that arranged a dance in April at Scottish Rite Hall for the benefit of French wounded. But he adds that they will cancel the dance if the 100,000 francs are sent to France. And to Maubailly, who had said that it was improper to hold a ball when so many brave French soldiers were falling, Rey retorted by taking him to task for having remarked about a soirée at the Salle Notre-Dame, "A-t-on ri, bon Dieu!" Is not laughing, asks Rey, as reprehensible as dancing, "surtout que c'est vous, austère Maubailly, qui avez provoqué ce rire?" After all, he says, "On peut danser sans être content, tandis qu'il n'est pas possible de rire sans l'être." Lusinchi and Maubailly twitted Rey with violating the rules of French syntax. His reply was, "il vaut mieux manquer aux règles de la syntaxe qu'aux règles de l'honneur, ainsi que vous nous l'avez prouvé dans l'affaire des cent mille francs." In December, 1917, however, Rey momentarily forgot his hostility to Lusinchi in order to publish condolences to the latter on the death of his father. And in 1918 his pertinacity won out. On May 20 he reports that a committee of the Ligue voted to send the 100,000 francs to France, and on June 18 that this action was confirmed, practically unanimously, at a meeting of the whole Ligue.

During the war and for some time afterwards the *Echo* featured articles by Gustave Hervé, the former militant Socialist and internationalist, who, disgusted when he realized that the German Socialists would not lift a finger to stop the Kaiser from making war, changed the name of his paper from *La Guerre Sociale* to *La Victoire* and became one of the strongest supporters of Clemenceau. The *Echo* was not only an intensely patriotic French paper; it was also a great admirer of the United States. On Washington's birthday, 1915, it praised the political liberty which had allowed the American people to become "le plus civilisé de la terre." Its announced policy which was adopted by its successors, was "Propager les Principes de la Révolution Française." In 1920 it paid homage to Lincoln, saying that only a democracy could produce such a man, and, with an amusing misapprehension of the meaning of "rail splitter," ending with the statement that under a monarchy, "il est très probable que Lincoln serait resté à faire des traverses de chemin de fer." On March 11, 1920, the paper advised the French people in California of their duty to learn English. Many have failed to do so, it said, because, thinking they would soon return to France, they did not take the trouble; this was the main reason why they had not made enough money to return to France. All French here should act on the assumption that they are going to stay, even if they hope not to.

Like Hervé and many others, the *Echo* saluted the Russian revolution as one of the most glorious events in the history of mankind, but soon became disabused. Like many others, again, it was over-optimistic about the peace, saying on January 2, 1919, "1919 sera l'année où la paix s'établira sur la terre d'une façon définitive, afin qu'il ne soit jamais plus permis à un homme de déchaîner sur le monde un cataclysme comme celui dont nous venons d'être les témoins." Always a fearless fighter for what it considered justice, the paper denounced Hearst—whom it accused not only of pro-Germanism but of trying to foment a war with Mexico in 1916 for his own benefit—, Prohibition, De Valera, Aimee Semple MacPherson, the Fundamentalist bigotry of the Scopes trial in Tennessee, and the acquittal of Villain, the assassin of Jean Jaurès: "Villain a été acquitté parce que l'homme qu'il avait tué était un socialiste.... Jaurès valait bien Clemenceau." The last words are an allusion to the fact that a man who had tried to kill Clemenceau, and who had not even succeeded in seriously injuring him, had been condemned by the courts. The *Echo* was in favor of the League of Nations. Although it thoroughly disapproved of William Jennings Bryan in the Scopes trial, it honored his memory when he died in July 1915, because, it said, he was not a hypocrite: he voted for Prohibition and did not drink, and was a bigoted Fundamentalist but a sincere one, and tried to live like a Christian. The paper urged its readers to vote for Wilson against Hughes in 1916; it considered that both men were equally good American patriots, but felt that Hughes favored the rich too much, and above all that the German-Americans and Irish-Americans were for him because of their hatred of Wilson. In 1924 Rey urged votes for either Coolidge or Davis but not for LaFollette, because the latter was an enemy of France.

On April 2, 1920, the *Echo* announced that the increased cost of paper and labor obliged it to advance its price and its advertising rates, and that it would henceforth sell for "75 cents by month, 5 cents a Copie" [sic]. Its rival, the *Franco-Californien,* had for some time been priced at a dollar a month. After the war there had been a rumor—noted and refuted in the *Echo* of February 25, 1919—that the two papers were to merge. Such a project had been aired and had even enlisted the interest of Neltner, the consul. Rey thought that the only man in the colony influential enough to carry it out would be Raphaël Weill, who was at that time in France, and who died not long afterwards. The merger did eventually come about, but not for another half-dozen years.

Factional Journals, 1906-1926—Rey and Godeau

While the feud between Rey and Lusinchi never ceased while their journals remained separate entities, it was somewhat dimmed after the war by the violence of a new feud, that between Rey and Jules Godeau. Godeau, who has already been mentioned from time to time, was born in San Francisco in 1864, the son of Alexis G. Godeau, one of the founders of the French Mutual Benefit Society. In 1886 Jules opened an undertaking establishment, in which he was later associated with a Genevan named Martinoni; it had branches in Oakland and Los Angeles and soon obtained—and still retains—almost a monopoly on the undertaking business in the San Francisco French colony. Jules was also an able politician and "joiner." Besides being president, and then vice-president, of the Société Française de Bienfaisance Mutuelle and the French Hospital, he was a member of the advisory council of the French Bank and of various lodges, including the Odd Fellows and the Knights of Pythias, and was Grand Sachem of the Improved Order of Red Men and Supreme Arch of the Druids of the United States. Rey recognized his ability and was at first favorable to him. On November 5, 1917, he said of him, "Pendant trente ans il a combattu tout seul le prix exhorbitant [sic] des trusts pour les funérailles," and urged his election as administrator of the hospital. But on March 8, 1919, his comments take another tone. Godeau, he tells his readers, had promised not to demand the office of president of the hospital if elected to his present office. "Cette promesse, M. Godeau l'a toujours faite; il a même refusé ce poste quand il a cru s'éterniser dans une vice-présidence qui le rendait maître de la situation. Les 'boss' n'agissent jamais autrement. Aux sociétaires d'ouvrir l'oeil et le bon."

Three days later Rey replies to a letter which had appeared in the *Franco-Californien* over the signature of "Un Sociétaire," accusing the *Echo* of interfering with the hospital; Rey says that all he did was to drop Godeau when the latter showed that he was working only for his own interest. No doubt, he adds, Godeau will now be friends again with Bergerot; twenty-five years ago they worked together to divide the colony. On March 17 he continues in the same vein, saying that the interest of the hospital requires the removal from the Committee of men "qui veulent s'y éterniser et qui veulent tout accaparer. M. Bergerot et M. Godeau sont des accapareurs." On March 21 Rey goes into particulars to show just how Godeau had made himself "boss" of the hospital, compelling the resignation of certain functionaries and the appointment of others, less able, in their places. Evidently the *Franco-Californien* was siding with Godeau, as it had sided from the start with Bergerot, for on October 21 Rey declares that its "sales attaques" remind him of the "sinistre Barra," and that from now on the *Echo* will no longer exchange with the other paper. About this time, and on a couple of other occasions, he as much as says that Lusinchi has been publishing letters against him purporting to be from subscribers but in reality written by himself. An editorial on February 4, 1920, is headed, "Lusinchi me force à parler de lui." The *Franco- Californien* had said "Raphaël Weill nous fait tous les jours maltraiter par un pauvre infirme qu'il inspire et qu'il paie." Rey declares that in France such an insult would be repaid by the sword or pistol, and that even here Lusinchi would not have uttered it if Rey were not "infirme"—he would have been afraid "que je lui casse les reins." The *Echo's* issue of February 25 devotes considerable space to Weill's 83rd birthday, and includes a poem about him—in which the Muse does not fly very high—by ex-Mayor Taylor of San Francisco.[45] On March 28 and 29, Rey tells how he had advised against a new attempt of Godeau to get himself elected president of the Société Française de Bienfaisance Mutuelle, and that Godeau had responded by calling names: "Tous ceux qui le connaissent peuvent s'imaginer le vocabulaire dont il s'est servi." He even quotes Godeau as having said over the telephone, "dans des termes que je n'oserais pas répéter," that rather than accept the appointment of a certain doctor from Weill, "il était prêt à tout briser." Like Bergerot, says Rey, Godeau "n'admet d'autre volonté que la sienne."

Eventually the undertaker, with the assistance of a certain Lascroux, founded a newspaper for the express purpose of combatting the *Echo*. This was *La Vérité*, published by Godeau at 1167 Mission Street. It began as a weekly, almost surely in mid-1921, but there is considerable haziness about the date, and it is impossible to determine it from the numeration of existing copies because of ignorance of the date on which the paper changed from a weekly to a daily. The *Echo* first refers to the new paper by name in December, 1921. On March 3, 1922, Rey asserted that "nearly a year ago," on the testimony of a creditable witness, Godeau had asked Lascroux if he could guarantee his election as administrator of the French Hospital by means of a journal for which Godeau would advance the necessary funds; that Lascroux said he would accomplish it by attacking the hospital in the proposed journal; that when Godeau objected that the members might not believe him, Lascroux replied contemptuously that 95% of them were crassly ignorant, and that he was an old hand at that sort of thing; and that Godeau told him to go ahead: "la fortune sourit aux audacieux," the present administration must be thrown out and Godeau elected, no matter what slanders may be necessary—"Il faut qu'ils en crèvent et ils en crèveront!" This, according to Rey, was how and why *La Vérité* came into existence. At all events, it fixes an approximate date for its beginning. Rey also asserted (October 18, 1922) that the paper was founded for the purpose of attacking the *Echo de l'Ouest*, and quotes a passage from Lascroux which appeared in it:

> Voilà un peu plus d'une année que nous avons entamé une lutte acharnée contre un certain organe politique dénommé 'L'Echo de l'Ouest'. . . . un journal comme 'La Vérité' était devenu nécessaire, indispensable dans la colonie. . . . Nous travaillons pour la débarrasser d'une infection, rien de plus.[46]

La Vérité quickly spread reports that the French Hospital was in bad shape and on the road to bankruptcy and that, among other things, "on risque fort d'y attraper la gale quand on y rentre pour des rhumatismes." Rey, referring to "l'esprit perverti d'un Lascroux et l'ignorance crasse de prétentieux parvenu d'un Godeau," declares that if Godeau cannot run the hospital, he would like to ruin it. Godeau had been expelled by the governing board of the Society, and on February 4, 1922, the *Echo* published a statement of the reasons, couched in the formal style of paragraphs beginning "attendu que." These explain that since its foundation, *La Vérité* has carried on a campaign "déloyale et tendancieuse, voire même diffamante," against the hospital. On November 5, 1921, *La Vérité* had reported that a two-year-old girl, the daughter of one Frank Longuy, had died there through the "coupable négligence des administrateurs," and that the latter were compelled to pay Longuy $275 (a surprisingly small sum), but had omitted to mention that this decision was reversed on appeal on April 27. On December 17, 1921, the same paper had published an article accusing the hospital of maintaining unsanitary and even filthy conditions and neglecting precautions against contagion, and going so far as to say that it was equipped not to care for sick persons but for "des habillés de soie," i.e., "des cochons." *La Vérité* had, in addition, been publishing in each issue a parody of an advertisement in which the hospital was announced as "Maison de Santé laissant à désirer. Service selon la fortune des sociétaires. Fermée aux malades contagieux et aux médecins compétents. Service incomplet de Chirurgie, Radiographie, etc. Déficit 50,000 dollars."

Most of the February, 1922, issues of the *Echo* are full of polemics between Rey, Godeau, and the man whom Rey calls Godeau's "valet Lascroux," as well as "son toutou" and "son cireur de bottes," terms which take us back to the distant period of Ernest de Massey's characterizations of the relations of Alfred de Lachapelle to the Marquis de Pindray. On February 25 the *Echo* published a letter from one F. Belleville accusing *La Vérité* of quoting him as making remarks he never actually made, and Rey comments that he is not the only one to whom this has happened. On April 2 Godeau was defeated at the hospital election; at the same time, however, it was discovered that his expulsion from the Society was not valid, because he was not notified of the proposed action in advance and given a chance to appear in his defense. The issue of August 5 ran an article by A. Belledent about the career of Lascroux, telling how he had joined the newly-formed Société des Combattants de la Grande Guerre but was disowned by its president, had then obtained a job at the French consulate but had soon been discharged, and had quite recently tried to split the colony on the occasion of the 14th of July celebration (again!), publishing false reports of the success of a competing celebration organized by him, and insulting the French consul for not having taken part in it. At about this time, according to the account, his behavior toward an employee of Godeau's named Bertinetti had been so offensive that the latter had given him a black eye and was acquitted in court for it. On October 27 the *Echo* contained an article by Professor Ch. P. de Boissy with the title "Un Bien Triste Individu," in which reference was made to "le présomptueux et ignorant Godeau," and he and Lascroux were called "le Croque-M . . . ort et son pitre." Lascroux was also called a "bête puante" and a "mouche à m . . . outarde." To anyone who knows French, the three dots after the letter "m" are especially eloquent.

(To be continued)

NOTES

30. Cauwet was one of the Lingots d'Or immigrants. He was listed as a painter among the passengers of the ship *Le Moïse,* which sailed from France on November 25, 1852, and arrived in San Francisco on May 31, 1853.

31. "It is especially concerned with questions of social betterment, and will also publish all political news, literary, philosophic and scientific articles and those on social economy. A feuilleton selected both for content and form, that is to say for its spirit, its morals and its style, will always ornament this paper. A review of the week regarding all that has transpired in California will complete each number."

32. "We tried to create a journal by all for all, a journal not bearing the stamp of any one person. Our efforts were not crowned with success, and the help given us was not in proportion to our obligations.... we must therefore bow to the public will, letting the future pronounce the decisive verdict."

33. "Because of its size and position in the State of California, our colony should have more than one organ: its political influence requires this. For a long time, not without some grumbling, it has submitted to a monopoly..." The founders of *Le Petit Journal* "resolved to fill this lack and did not hesitate to establish their daily journal.... Our population must not lose sight of the fact that *Le Petit Journal* is not an individual effort; that its goal, essentially French, is to combat the monopoly and to be the faithful organ of the national interests."

34. Francfort also published an *Almanach Franco-Californien,* of which the Huntington Library has the first issue, for 1876, and the California Historical Society has that for 1879.

35. "He sought to find the true interpretation of Christianity, stripping from it all the false doctrines the priests have been pleased to wrap around it... true Communism establishing the relationship of man with the nature of God, as well as that of man to man."

36. It does not even appear that 1890 is the correct date for this change, for 1886 is the last year in which the *Courrier de San Francisco* is listed in the city directory. Chaigneau died in 1924 at the age of 77, after a long retirement.

37. *Echo de l'Ouest,* March 31, 1920.

38. The name first proposed was "Le Brouillard."

39. "If there are 2 Frenchmen or 2 French women who have arrived within a month prior to this date, either at San Francisco or Oakland, if they are completely destitute, let them send a note to Barra, and on proving they are FRENCH—nothing more—they will each receive ten dollars. Religion, trade, politics, do not concern me—to be French and honest is all they need for this helping hand."

40. Barra also used to refer to *Le Progrès* as "Le Pot de Grès"; to *L'Union Nouvelle* as "L'Oignon Nouveau"; and to the *Courrier des Etats-Unis,* of New York, as "Le Croupier des Etres Utiles."

41. This contrasts so startlingly with the good wishes which he extended in his first issue to the *Franco-Californien* "et à son aimable, spirituel et rédacteur en chef, M. P. Juignet," that the latter must be ironical.

42. "... a nation devoted exclusively to raising pigs and milling grain ... a mercantile nation where nobility of sentiments is unknown unless they are paid for at so much a line ... The country, par excellence, of criminals ... a country where everything can be bought and sold—honor by weight and capacity by liquid measure."

43. "Anything that friend Maubailly can say about this ballot cannot destroy the facts, and the ridiculous line of reasoning that he uses in his article does not even deserve to be discussed.... One must be really without a conscience like this poor Pierre-Marie to dare to bring forth arguments like those which adorn his elucubrations. Three years ago *Le Réveil* did not even exist. Those who later became friends of Maubailly tried at that time to get elected to the hospital. They were defeated, it is true, but still they did not cut too sorry a figure at the time of the 1904 elections. Following their failure they started *Le Réveil* and in April 1905 that journal presented the list we all know for the votes of the members, after having carried on a violent press campaign against the Committee incumbents. This time the friends of Maubailly were overwhelmingly defeated.... Those elected Sunday ... are fully reassured. As long as *Le Réveil* has friend Maubailly as editor they will have nothing to fear in the way of a reversal of opinion."

44. These three designations included Maubailly, who had roused the ire and contempt of Rey by changing from an opponent to a supporter of the Bergerots.

45. Weill died in Paris on December 10 of the same year.

46. "A little more than a year ago we started an unrelenting warfare against a certain political organ called '*L'Echo de l'Ouest*.... a journal like '*La Vérité*' had become necessary—indispensable—in the colony ... We shall work to rid ourselves of an infection, nothing more."

Bruff's Route in Eastern California

By GEORGIA WILLIS READ

IN THE SUMMER OF 1850 J. Goldsborough Bruff[1] joined Peter Lassen and his party in a search for the fabulous Gold Lake, said to lie deep in the mountains, the resort of hostile Indians, its shores literally strewn with nuggets to be had for the gathering.

Filled with the pleasurable excitement of adventure, luxuriating in the release from the responsibility of leading his company across the continent and free of the hardships he had later suffered, Bruff was thoroughly enjoying himself for almost the first time since he left home on April 2, 1849. He kept a record of day's marches and events and filled his notebooks with sketches, it is true, but he was no longer responsible, as on the Overland march, for the welfare of his company and for the route it traveled, nor was he any longer amassing data for a detailed guide to California. If a day's mileage here and there or a few compass readings were omitted, it troubled him not at all.

"I do not believe the story [of the Gold Lake]," he wrote, "but the excursion will be over a country very little if any known; and we may be so fortunate as to find a rich gold place, if not a Gold Lake." Later he noted: "A controversy about the course to travel. I told them it was all the same to me, as every mile produced some new scenery."

Setting out from Lassen's Rancho, the party followed the Lassen Trail, rendezvousing at Lassen's Camp in Big Meadows (now covered by Lake Almanor), proceeding thence to Pit River and then traveling east and south. Bruff mentions seeing his "detached mountain in the plain," which Miss Gaines and I had identified as Centerville Butte, and later described a sheet of water which, from his description, sketches and later annotations, we determined to be Honey Lake. The party came out on the north shore of the lake, west of the Hot Spring, crossed the Susan River, and camped near the present Janesville on the western side of the lake.

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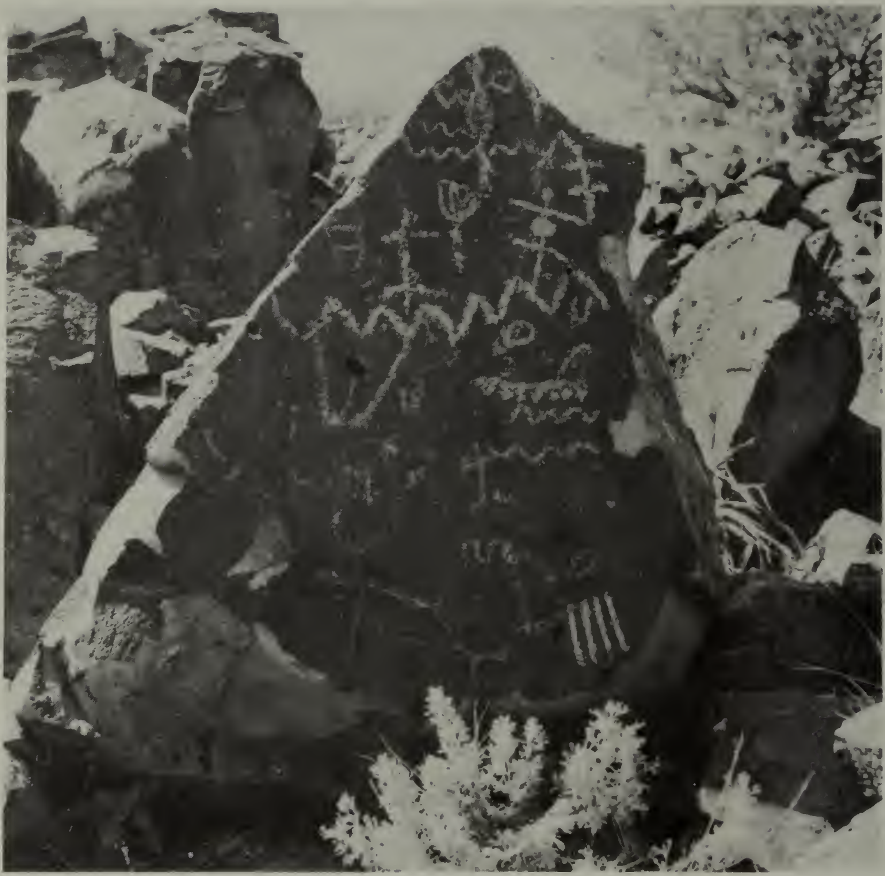
[1] Gold Rush: The Journals, Drawings, and Other Papers of J. Goldsborough Bruff, Captain, Washington City and California Mining Association, April 2, 1849-July 20, 1851. Edited by Georgia Willis Read and Ruth Gaines, 2 vols., New York, 1944. California Centennial Edition, 1 vol., 1949.

We had then two fixed points in the course of the party—Centerville Butte in the north and Honey Lake in the south, and between these some incomplete compass readings and mileages. In this region Bruff described a "Hieroglyphic Defile," a deep fissure in the earth, lined with plutonic rock on which were carved many petroglyphs. He described these and made a drawing of one large detached rock covered with these incised symbols.

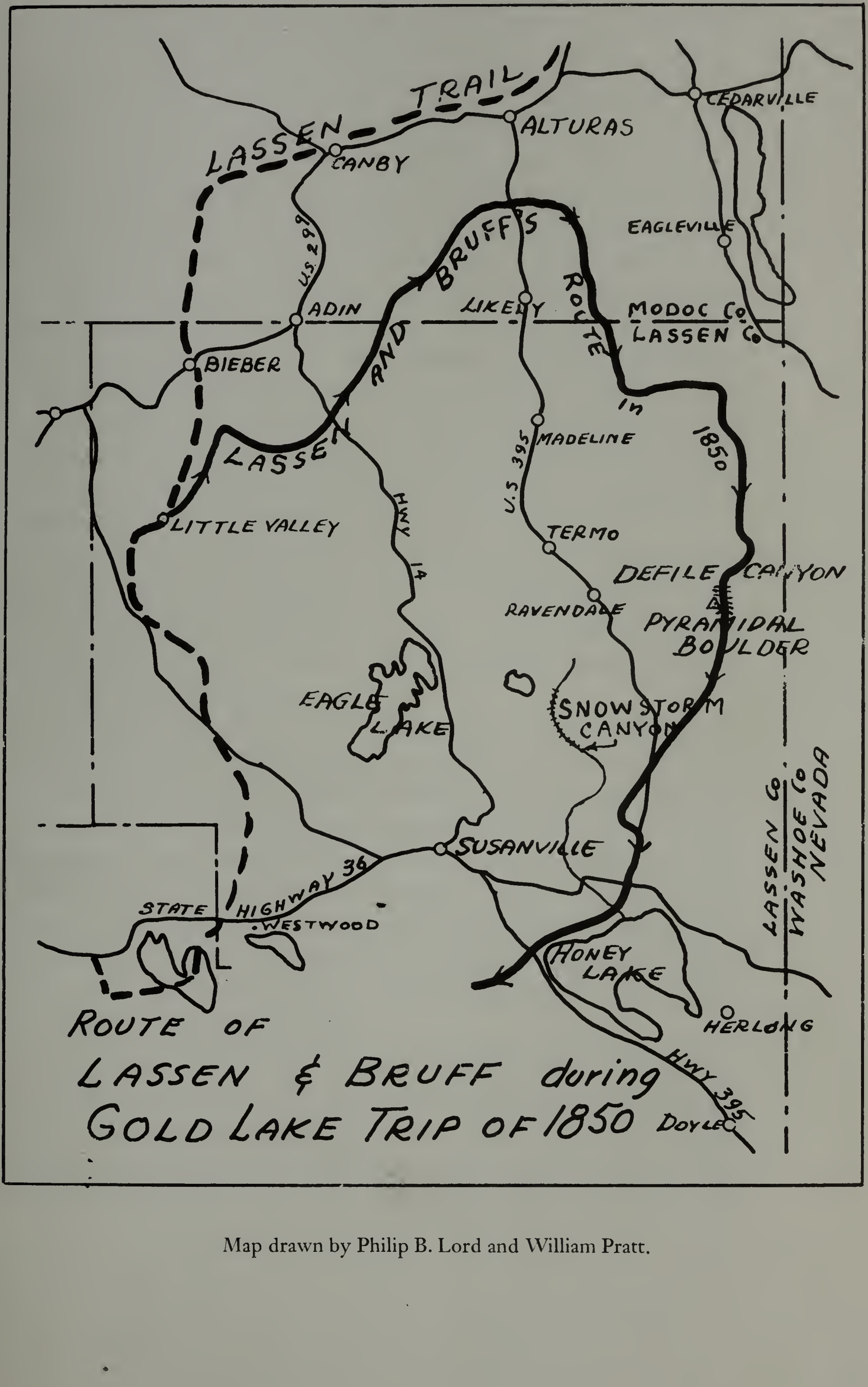
For the last nine days before reaching Honey Lake, Bruff gave only one daily mileage, and only a few mean directions for the march. Also during part of the time his compass was loaned to another section of the party following a divergent route, nor have the original notes for this part of his wanderings come to light. Bearing these facts in mind, the difficulties of plotting his route here are apparent.

The region Bruff covered in these nine days is still wild and remote. It must look much today as it did in his time—a great sterile plain strewn with scoriae of all sizes and rent by many deep chasms or canyons, over whose depths the great California buzzards float as if motionless. Smoke Creek Canyon, Stony Creek Canyon, Willow Creek Canyon, Ball Canyon, Pete's Creek, Secret Valley and others, most of them exhibiting petroglyphs on their walls, seam and drain this area. An occasional flock of sheep may be seen today or a band of antelopes, and the hostile Indians of Bruff's time have vanished. The same detached mountains rear their peaks over its desolation; the same blue lakes appear here and there.

In our effort to chart Bruff's route, we finally narrowed the search here to either Snow Storm Canyon or Upper Smoke Creek Canyon. Both run approximately north and south; both would have brought Bruff and his party out on the plain behind Shaffer Mountain to the north of Honey Lake, where we know they emerged. A further examination was in order, and we were about to start for California, where with the assistance of the Forest Service and of Mr. Philip B. Lord in particular we hoped to effect this, when our country entered



Bruff's detached rock, Upper Smoke Creek Canyon, as it appears today.
Photograph by Lowell Adams


LASSEN TRAIL
CANBY
ALTURAS
CEDARVILLE
EAGLEVILLE
U.S. 299
ADIN
LIKELY
LASSEN AND BRUFF'S ROUTE in 1850
MODOC Co.
LASSEN Co.
BIEBER
U.S. 395
MADELINE
LITTLE VALLEY
HWY 14
TERMO
DEFILE CANYON
RAVENDALE
PYRAMIDAL BOULDER
EAGLE LAKE
SNOWSTORM CANYON
LASSEN Co.
WASHOE Co.
NEVADA
SUSANVILLE
STATE HIGHWAY 36
WESTWOOD
HONEY LAKE
HERLONG
HWY 395
DOYLE
ROUTE OF LASSEN & BRUFF during GOLD LAKE TRIP OF 1850

Map drawn by Philip B. Lord and William Pratt.

the Second World War and travel for such purposes became practically impossible. Mr. Lord kindly took Bruff's data and checked Snow Storm Canyon by it. The compass readings and the topography fitted and, though Mr. Lord in the limited time at his disposal did not succeed in locating Bruff's detached rock described above, the evidence seemed to indicate that this was where the party passed. In the course of a hundred years it would not be surprising if this rock had been dislodged by some torrential freshet or tottered from its base in a seismic disturbance.

In 1954 Mr. Lawrence Bowker, principal of the Klamath River Union Elementary School in Horse Creek, saw a copy of *Gold Rush* and became interested in Bruff's "Hieroglyphic Defile." Rightly deeming that Bruff's detached rock in this canyon would afford a key to this part of the route, he searched at intervals for it in Upper Smoke Creek Canyon, but without success, until the spring of 1957 when he and his wife succeeded in locating it. An account of this appeared in the *Sacramento Bee* on December 25, 1957.

Whether or not one agrees with Mr. Bowker's interpretation of the petroglyphs, the fact remains that he has certainly identified Bruff's route in this immediate region—an example of that inspired curiosity of the intellect which has solved so many problems and revealed to man things otherwise hidden.

Mr. Lord, accompanied by Mr. William Pratt of Susanville and Mr. Lowell Adams, and using information on the location of the rock kindly made available to him by Mr. Bowker, visited this region in May, 1958, and checked it by Bruff's data. Since Smoke Creek Canyon and Snow Storm Canyon extend in the same direction, Bruff's compass directions fit either one. The topography of Snow Storm Canyon today fits Bruff's description more closely than does that of Upper Smoke Creek Canyon, where the willows and small meadows have largely disappeared. But in the course of a hundred years, it is not surprising that storms and freshets should wreak such changes.

"It is Bruff's rock without question," writes Mr. Lord. "His description still fits Snowstorm to a T. Both creeks run in the same direction which accounts for the compass directions. It was somewhat of a thrill to see the rock just the same as he drew it over 100 years ago. I think Bruff's route as we have shown it is pretty close to correct, as he certainly was at the rock and he ended up at Honey Lake so he just about had to go by the route shown or pretty close to it." The map by Mr. Lord and Mr. Pratt, presented herewith, shows Bruff's revised route in this region; and the photograph by Mr. Adams pictures Bruff's detached rock in Upper Smoke Creek Canyon as it appears today.

It is a gratification to me—and I am sure would be to Miss Gaines also, were she still living—to acknowledge the work of Mr. Bowker and Mr. Lord and to thank them both. Considering the scarcity of early accounts of this region, it has seemed to me that these findings should be made a part of the record. In our Introduction to the first edition of *Gold Rush,* Miss Gaines and I wrote: "It is to be regretted that it has not proved feasible to identify in entirety Bruff's wanderings in 1850, even with the help of his maps. . . . It is our belief—indeed our hope—that the last lines of annotation to the Bruff records will be added by many individuals, in many places." Mr. Bowker and Mr. Lord surely deserve a place among those individuals and merit the thanks of all who are interested in the subject.

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Established in 1945

On view in the Society's library is a finely bound "Book of Remembrance," recording the names of persons in whose memory contributions have been made to the Library Fund. Below are names that have been inscribed for 1959 and 1960.

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William Wilcox Robinson has lived nearly all his life in Southern California and was for 11 years vice-president of Title Insurance and Trust Company of Los Angeles, in charge of its publication program. Mr. Robinson has written widely of Southern California history and is the author of the CHS publication *Los Angeles from the Days of the Pueblo*. His *Lawyers of Los Angeles*, published by the Los Angeles Bar Association last year, was reviewed in the March issue of the *Quarterly*, and his book *The Malibu* (with Lawrence Clark Powell) was reviewed in the June 1959 issue.

Clifford H. Bissell is Associate Professor of French, Emeritus, University of California. He studied at the Collège de Juilly, France, and the Vitzthumsches Gymnasium, Dresden, Germany, and holds a B.A. degree from Yale University, an LL.B. from Columbia University, an M.A. from Princeton and Ph.D. from the University of California. He was a member of the French faculty at the University of California from 1920 until his retirement in 1954. His work, *Prepositions in French and English*, is well known in linguistic circles.

Joseph Armstrong Baird, Jr., is Associate Professor of Art at the University of California, Davis. He received his M.A. and Ph.D. degrees from Harvard University, and taught at the University of Toronto from 1949 to 1953 before coming to California; summer appointments have included the Universities of Southern California and British Columbia, as well as an exchange professorship at the University of Mexico under the auspices of the U. S. State Department. Dr. Baird has had articles in the field of the history of architecture in the *Art Bulletin*, *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, *Anales del Instituto de Investigaciones Esteticas (Mexico)*, *Journal of Latin American Studies*, *Country Life*, *etc*. He is currently consulting editor of the *Handbook for Latin American Studies* and reviewer of Latin American publications for the *Journal of Aesthetics and Art History*. Dr. Baird is contributing to a film on Old Sacramento and preparing special Photo-Data books for the Historic American Building Survey on various historic structures in Sacramento.

Georgia Willis Read is the daughter of an early Californian, Dr. George Willis Reed, who led a company across the plains in 1850 and practiced medicine in California for some years thereafter. Miss Read, who is a graduate of Smith College, has had a particular interest in the history of the West. She edited *A Pioneer of 1850* and has published in various historical journals.

New Books

The San Sabá Papers: A Documentary Account of the Founding and Destruction of San Sabá Mission. Translated by Paul D. Nathan. Edited, with an Introduction, by Lesley Byrd Simpson. (San Francisco: John Howell—Books, 1960. 157 pp. $12.50.)

Early in the 18th century, Spain planted colonies at strategic sites in Texas, first in the east, near the Neches and Angelina Rivers, and then in 1718 at San Antonio, a midway point between the East Texas missions and the settlements on the Río Grande in Mexico. This Spanish thrust into the great Texas area conflicted with the desire of the French to gain a foothold there, and also with the powerful Apache and Comanche Indians, whose territory it was. Caught in a nutcracker squeeze between Comanches on one side and Spanish advance on the other, the Apaches began to look with more favor on making friends with the Spaniards and accepting missionaries to live among them. In this manner the San Sabá mission came into being.

San Sabá, 180 miles north of San Antonio, thus became the site of the first mission and presidio among the Apaches of central Texas. The spot had been selected by Lieutenant Juan Galván of the San Antonio garrison on a reconnaissance in 1753. But there were many delays before the plan could be put into effect, and not until April, 1757, did the first group of soldiers and missionaries arrive. Not an Indian greeted them. Nevertheless, a mission and presidio were built, the former on the south side of the river and the latter on the north side, about three miles distant—to keep the soldiers from molesting the mission Indians. By June, the hearts of the friars were temporarily gladdened by the sight of 3,000 Apaches, but they had not come for the waters of baptism—instead, they wanted the Spaniards to join them in a buffalo hunt! Of course, they wanted to be friends of the Spaniards and have missions, but they had no time for that sort of thing just then. Months passed, but still no Indians, to the great disappointment of the ardent friars. By autumn, however, "scattered bands of Indians, like flocks of swallows going south," would stop briefly at the mission, enjoy its hospitality, and depart. With them came disturbing rumors—that the northern tribes, the Comanches, were gathering and would destroy the mission and presidio at one blow.

These forebodings took a realistic turn when, on March 2, 1758, the

Comanches drove off 62 of the presidio horses and wounded some of the guard. The real blow fell on March 16, when 2,000 Indians, mostly Comanches, attacked the mission, killing two of the three friars and most of the small soldier escort before the presidio, several miles away, could send help. By this time the bloodthirstiness of the Indians had been sated and they left as suddenly as they had come.

This is the story recorded in *The San Sabá Papers*, in 52 individual documents, translated by Paul D. Nathan and edited by Lesley Byrd Simpson from unpublished documents in the Galvin Family Papers.

In its major aspects, this record is a part of Spain's effort to Christianize and civilize the Indians on her northern border in Mexico. In its details, it is a specific and well-documented account of the kind of thing Spanish soldiers and missionaries had to contend with as Spain's invasion of the Northern Indian country spread farther into the continent. The natives had to be won over to a less warlike existence before they could be influenced by the peaceful message of the missionaries.

The San Sabá Papers contains an introduction, a brief bibliography (with no reference to Carlos E. Castañeda's *Our Catholic Heritage in Texas*, 7 vols.), an epilogue, and a charming map by Inez Haase. Lawton Kennedy has outdone himself in producing a beautiful and well-printed book, an appropriate vehicle for a solid historical narrative.

George P. Hammond

Health Seekers of Southern California 1870-1900. By John E. Baur (San Marino, California: Huntington Library, 1959. xiii + 202 pp. $4.50.)

California history has traditionally emphasized the mission period, life on the ranchos, and the "Spanish Arcadia" idyll as defined by Nellie Van de Grift Sanchez, but in recent years professional historians have tried to take a closed look at the post-Civil War period. These latter years were, in fact, the time when the foundations were being laid for the modern state, with its population growth, urbanization, and synchronization with the current of American life. John Baur's study casts further light on this interesting, formative era, and he investigates one of the important reasons why people began coming to California in large numbers.

The author points out that California has always been regarded as a treasure trove of one sort or other, "Yet," he says, "the most valuable of mankind's many physical treasures in health." (p. 1.) And John W. Caughey, who wrote the Foreword, notes that California's history "begins with a kind word about the climate," by Cabrillo. (p. vii.) Those of us fortunate enough to enjoy a lengthy period of residence in the state are well aware that the combination of these two factors, the search for health and California's balmy weather, was largely responsible for the growth of such places as Pasadena in the form of a winter resort for eastern visitors. Baur, however, brings out the fact that the region's reputation as a healthful place to live was probably far more important as a cause of migration than many realize.

The opening of California to migration from the Midwest and East came at a time when medical science was primitive enough to overemphasize geographical location as a remedy. Probably the most popular ailment in California during these years was "consumption," which chiefly meant tuberculosis but also probably included a wide range of chronic respiratory complaints. The tendency of the American people to fall victim to nostrums, quackery, and unproved homeopathic techniques also contributed to the feeling that if one were ill, California was a good place to go.

The author has done an excellent technical job of examining sources, including ephemeral publications of varied types. He points out that many well-known southern Californians, such as James Guinn, Theodore Van Dyke, Charles Dwight Willard, Charles F. Lummis, Harry Chandler, and even Helena Modjeska came west at least partly because of health reasons. He describes the manner in which various districts responded to this situation through the building of hospitals and sanatoria, resort hotels, and other means of catering to those with funds enough to pamper their frailties. He also brings out the problems that resulted, such as the overpopulation of unskilled white-collar workers when what the region needed was manual and heavy labor and industrial development.

The chief reservation produced by the study is that one might feel that health seekers constituted the bulk of the migrants to California. And there are occasional assumptions which need further proof, such as that on p. 43 which indicates that the great migration, and consequent boom, of 1887 was the result chiefly of a severe eastern winter. However, these negative items are minor; the book is thorough, scholarly, well done, and attractively presented. Research in this type of historical material is difficult, and the author deserves credit for a competent job.

A good bibliography and an index combine to help make this volume a worthy addition to California history. GLENN S. DUMKE

Dictionary of the American Indian. By John Stoutenburgh, Jr. (New York: Philosophical Library, Inc., 1960. 462 pp. Price $10.00.)

Billed as an "up to date source book for the student, researcher or individual who simply wants a clear, unbiased picture of the American Indian . . . that can serve as a dependable source of information about a people important in our own history and culture" this dictionary presents a generalized alphabetized thumb sketch of many aspects of Indian lore from throughout the United States.

The material is quite elementary, often incomplete, and fails to cover many obviously important aspects of the field. Thus, "Acorn" contains the reference "See anafkimmens." On turning to "Anafkimmens" one discovers this definition: "The Powhatan for acorn." No further explanation is given to this item which did prove to be an important part of the diet of many Indian groups. "Paiutes" are described as being of Shoshonean derivation and living in Utah, Arizona and Idaho. Completely omitted is any reference to the great concentration of Paiutes in Nevada with penetration also into California.

While this work may be of some assistance to some of those interested in the Indians of America, in the opinion of this reviewer it does not achieve its announced objectives. AUSTEN D. WARBURTON

RECENT CALIFORNIANA

A Check-List of Publications Relating to California

ADAMS, RAMON F. The Rampaging Herd. Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1959. $15.00 (To be reviewed.)

AINSWORTH, ED. Enchanted Pueblo [Los Angeles]. Los Angeles, Bank of America, 1959. Gratis.

ALTADENA, THEN AND NOW. Altadena, First Federal Savings and Loan Association, 1959. Gratis.

Anderson, Bern. Surveyor of the Sea; the Life and Voyages of Capt. George Vancouver. Seattle, University of Washington Press, 1960. $6.75. (To be reviewed.)

Armitage, Merle. Success is no accident [William P. Whitsett; San Fernando Valley, L. A. water supply]. Yucca Valley, Manzanita Press, 1959. $6.00. (To be reviewed.)

Bailey, Richard C. Explorations in Kern. Bakersfield, Kern County Historical Society, 1959. $4.00.

Bailey, Paul Dayton. Sam Brannon and the California Mormons. Los Angeles, Westernlore Press [3rd publication, c. 1942-1949] (Great West and Indian Series, v. 1.) $5.50.

Barney, Libeus. Letters of the Pike's Peak Gold Rush ... reprinted from the *Bennington Banner*, Vermont, 1859-1860. San Jose, California, Talisman Press, 1959. $6.50. (Reviewed in March *Quarterly.)*

Baur, John E. Health Seekers of Southern California, 1870-1900. San Marino, Huntington Library, 1959. $4.50. (Reviewed in this issue.)

Beebe, Lucius. Mansions on Rails. The Folklore of the Private Railway Car. Berkeley, Howell-North, 1959. $10.00. (Reviewed in the December 1959 *Quarterly.)*

Bloss, Roy S. Ten Days to San Francisco! Pony Express, the Great Gamble. Berkeley, Howell-North, 1959. $4.50.

Brashear, Minnie M., and Robert M. Rodney, Eds. The Art, Humor and Humanity of Mark Twain. Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1959. $5.95. (Reviewed in December 1959 *Quarterly.)*

Bronson, William. The Earth Shook, the Sky Burned [San Francisco earthquake and fire, 1906]. Garden City, Doubleday and Co., 1959. $5.95. (Reviewed in December 1959 *Quarterly.)*

Boyle, William H. Personal observations on the conduct of the Modoc War. Los Angeles, Dawson's Book Shop, 1959. $5.00.

Browne, J. Ross. The Coast Rangers (A Chronicle of Events in California). [Reprinted from *Harper's New Magazine* 1861-62] With an introduction by Richard Dillon. Balboa Island, Paisano Press, 1959. $7.50.

Browne, J. Ross. A Peep at Washoe and Washoe Revisited. Balboa Island, Paisano Press, 1960. $5.50.

Carlson, Vada F. This is our Valley. (Santa Maria Valley Historical Society.) Los Angeles, Westernlore Press, 1959. $6.75. (To be reviewed.)

Carpenter, Edwin H. A natural History of the Typestickers of Los Angeles. Los Angeles, Rounce and Coffin Club, 1960. $7.50.

Chase, Doris. They pushed back the Forest [History of Del Norte County]. Sacramento, The Author, c. 1959. $1.85.

Clar, C. Raymond. California government and forestry from Spanish days until ... 1927. Sacramento, State Division of Forestry, 1959. $6.00.

Clark, Thomas D. Frontier America: The Story of the Westward Movement. New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1959. $10.00. (Reviewed in December 1959 *Quarterly.)*

Conrad, Barnaby. San Francisco, a profile with pictures. New York, Viking, 1959. $8.50. (Reviewed in June *Quarterly.)*

The Cowboy Reader. Edited by Lon Tinkle and Allen Maxwell. New York, Longmans, Green & Co., Inc., 1959. $6.50.

Crowther, Bosley. The Life and Times of Louis B. Mayer. New York, Henry Holt and Company, 1960. $5.50.

Curtis, Mabel Rowe. The Coachman was a Lady. Watsonville, Pajaro Valley Historical Association, 2nd Printing 1959.

Dana, Rocky, and Marie Harrington. The Blond Ranchero; Memories of Juan Francisco Dana. Los Angeles, Dawson's Book Shop, 1960. $6.00.

De Mille, Cecil B. The Autobiography of Cecil B. de Mille. Edited by Donald Hayne. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, Prentice Hall, 1960. $5.95.

DeWitt, Ward G., and Florence S. Prairie Schooner Lady, the Journal of Harriet Sherrill Ward, 1853. Los Angeles, Westernlore Press, 1959. $5.75. (Reviewed in December 1959 *Quarterly.)*

Diamonds in California. Sausalito, Pages of History, 1959. $1.00.

Dillon, Richard. Embarcadero. New York, Coward-McCann, 1959. $4.75. (To be reviewed.)

Fremont, Jessie Benton. A Year of American Travel. Los Angeles, Plantin Press, 1960. $12.50.

Furniss, Norman F. The Mormon Conflict, 1850-1859. New Haven, Yale University Press, 1960. $5.00. (To be reviewed.)

Geiger, Maynard J. Life and Times of Fray Junipero Serra ... Washington, D. C., Academy of American Franciscan History, 1959. 2 volumes. $12.00. (To be reviewed.)

Goetzmann, William H. Army Exploration in the American West, 1803-1863. New Haven, Yale University Press, 1959. $6.50. (Reviewed in the March *Quarterly.)*

Greenwood, Robert. The California Outlaw: Tiburcio Vasquez. San Jose, Talisman Press, 1960. $5.95. (To be reviewed.)

GUDDE, ERWIN G. California Place Names. Berkeley, University of California Press, 1960. $10.00. (To be reviewed.)

GUIDE TO VIRGINIA CITY, NEVADA, AND THE COMSTOCK LODE AREA. Sausalito, Pages of History, 1959. $1.50.

HAFEN, LEROY, and ANN W. The Diaries of William Henry Jackson, Frontier Photographer. Glendale, California, Arthur H. Clark Co., 1959. $9.50. (To be reviewed.)

HAFEN, LE ROY R., Ed. Letters of Lewis Granger. Los Angeles, Glen Dawson, 1959. $7.50.

HALL, CARROLL D., and HERO E. RENSCH. Old Sacramento. Sacramento, State Department of Natural Resources, 1959. Gratis.

HARMSEN, TYRUS G. The Plantin Press of Saul and Lillian Marks. Los Angeles, Dawson's Book Shop, 1960. $3.50.

HART, JAMES D. American Images of Spanish California. Berkeley, Friends of the Bancroft Library, 1960. (For members only.)

HEYMAN, MAX L., JR. Prudent Soldier, a Biography of Major General E. R. S. Canby. Glendale, Arthur H. Clark Co., 1959. $11.00. (Reviewed in March *Quarterly.)*

HORAN, JAMES D. The Great American West; a Pictorial History from Coronado to the last Frontier. New York, Crown, 1959. $10.00.

HUNT, ROCKWELL D. Fifteen Decisive Events of California History. Los Angeles, Historical Society of Southern California, 1959. $5.00.

"INTELLIGENT BOSTONIAN," Northwest Coast of America & California, 1832. Los Angeles, Glen Dawson, 1959. $3.75. (O.P.)

KELLEY, ROBERT L. Gold vs. Grain; the Hydraulic Mining Controversy in California's Sacramento Valley. A Chapter in the decline of the concept of Laissez Faire. Glendale, Arthur H. Clark Co., 1959. $9.50. (Reviewed in June *Quarterly.)*

KNIGHT, ROBERT. Industrial Relations in the San Francisco Bay Area — 1900-1918. Berkeley, University of California Press, 1960. $6.50. (Reviewed in this issue.)

LAWTON, HARRY. Willie Boy, a Desert Manhunt. [Balboa Island], Paisano Press, [1960]. $5.95. (To be reviewed.)

LOHF, KENNETH A., and EUGENE P. SHEEHY. Frank Norris, a bibliography. Los Gatos, Talisman Press, 1959. $5.75.

LUCIA, ELLIS. Ben Holladay, giant of the old West. New York, Hastings House, 1959. $6.50.

MacArthur, Mildred Yorba. Anaheim, "The Mother Colony." Los Angeles, Ward Ritchie Press, [1959]. $7.50. (Reviewed in March *Quarterly.)*

Man, Time, and Space in Southern California. Washington, D. C., Association of American Geographers, 1959. $1.50.

Martin, V. Covert. Stockton Album [historical photographs]. Stockton, The Author, 1959. $12.50.

Miller, Max. And Bring all your Folks [offshore islands]. New York, Doubleday, 1959. $3.95.

Murphey, Edith V. Indian uses of native plants. Covelo, The Author, 1959. $2.50.

Murray, Keith A. The Modocs and their war. Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1959. $5.00. (Reviewed in December 1959 *Quarterly.)*

Murphy, William. Los Angeles, Wonder City of the West. San Francisco, Fearon Publishers, 1959. $1.50.

Newell, Gordon. Paddlewheel Pirate [Ned Wakeman]. New York, Dutton, 1959. $3.95. (Reviewed in December 1959 *Quarterly.)*

Nunis, Doyce Blackman, Jr. Andrew Sublette, Rocky Mountain Prince. Los Angeles, Glen Dawson, 1960. $10.00. (To be reviewed.)

Palmer, Mike. The Cable Cars of San Francisco. Berkeley, Howell-North Press, 1959. $1.00.

Power, Robert H. Pioneer Skiing in California. Vacaville, Nut Tree, 1960. $1.50.

Quinn, Charles R. Christmas Journey into the Desert [Anza, 1775]. Downey, Elena Quinn, [1959]. $2.50.

Raymond, Lee, and Ann Rice. Marin Indians. Sausalito, [Pages of History], 1959. $0.50.

Reeve, Lloyd Eric and Alice M. Gift of the Grape [Paul Masson winery]. San Francisco, Filmer Brothers Press, 1959. $5.00.

Richards, Elizabeth W. Circa 1890 . . . life and times in San Bernardino. . . . San Bernardino, Santa Fe Federal Savings and Loan Association, 1959. Gratis.

Robinson, W. W. Lawyers of Los Angeles. [Los Angeles], Los Angeles Bar Association, 1959. $7.50. (Reviewed in March *Quarterly.)*

Robinson, W. W. Los Angeles from the days of the Pueblo. San Francisco, California Historical Society, 1959. $1.50.

Rose, L. J., Jr. L. J. Rose of Sunnyslope. . . . San Marino, Huntington Library, 1959. $5.00. (Reviewed in December 1959 *Quarterly.)*

Rudkin, Charles N. The First French expedition to California, Lapérouse in 1786. Los Angeles, Glen Dawson, 1959. $7.50.

SCOTT, EDWARD B. Squaw Valley. [Crystal Bay, Sierra-Tahoe Publishing Co., 1960]. $7.50.

SCOTT, MEL. San Francisco Bay Area, a metropolis in perspective. Berkeley, University of California Press, 1959. $12.50.

SIMPSON, LESLEY BYRD, Ed. The San Sabá Papers: a Documentary Account of the Founding and Destruction of San Sabá Mission. Translated by Paul D. Nathan. San Francisco, John Howell—Books, 1960. $12.50. (Reviewed in this issue.)

STEWART, GEORGE R. Donner Pass and those who crossed it. San Francisco, California Historical Society, 1960. $1.95 (cloth $5.00.)

STOUTENBURGH, JOHN, JR. Dictionary of the American Indian. New York, Philosophical Library, Inc., 1960. $10.00. (To be reviewed.)

TAYLOR, SAMUEL W. Line Haul, the story of Pacific Intermountain Express. San Francisco, Filmer Brothers, 1959. $5.00.

TOLF, ALBERT. In Old San Francisco; a cartoon history. San Francisco, L-S Distributors, 1959. $1.25.

VIZCAINO, JUAN. Sea Diary of . . . to Alta California, 1769, ed. by Arthur Woodward. Los Angeles, Glen Dawson, 1959. $10.00 (O. P.)

WALLS, JIM, and PHIL PALMER. Chinatown San Francisco. Berkeley, Howell-North, 1960. $1.00. (To be reviewed.)

WEIGHT, HAROLD O. Lost Ship of the Desert, a Legend of the Southwest. Twentynine Palms, California, The Calico Press, 1959. $0.50.

WEIGHT, HAROLD and LUCILE. William B. Rood. Twentynine Palms, California, The Calico Press, 1959. $1.50.

WEIGHT, HAROLD and LUCILE. Rhyolite, the Ghost City of Golden Dreams. Twentynine Palms, California, The Calico Press. ed. 3, 1959. $0.60.

WENDT, WILHEMINE. Smog over Los Angeles. Los Angeles, Wendt Publications, 1959. $2.50.

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December 1960

California Historical Society Quarterly

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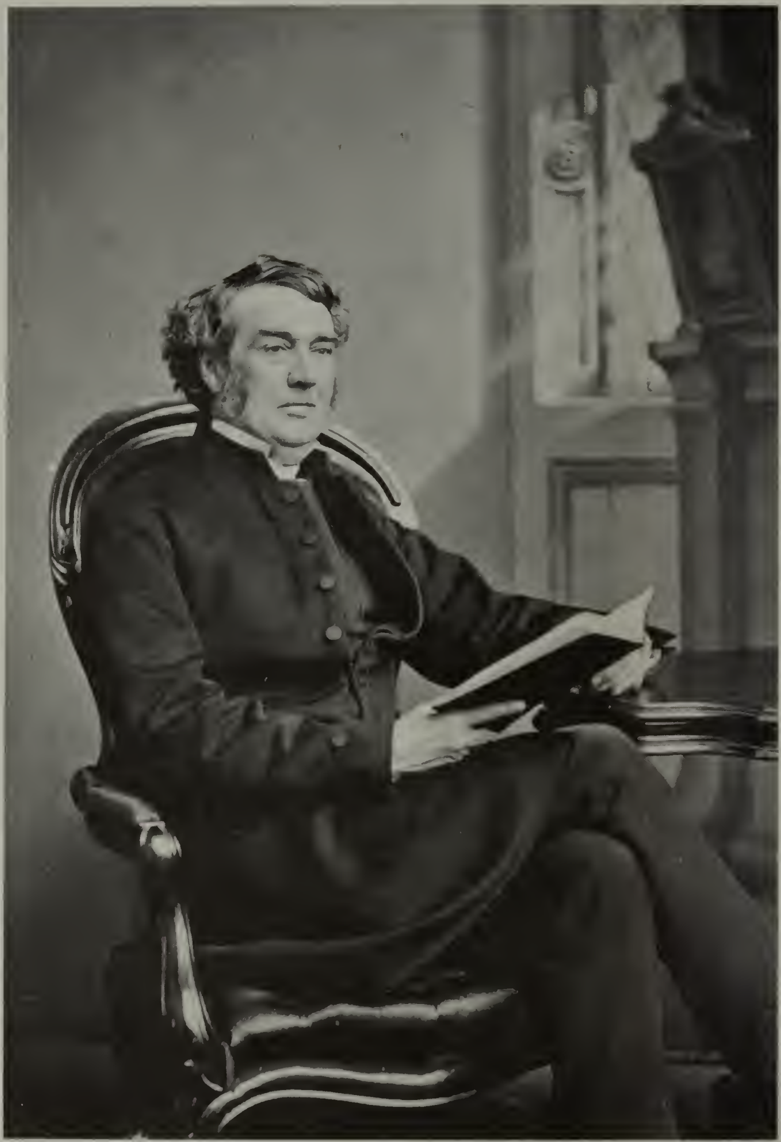


Bishop Kip

March 9 In a public service, Bishop Kip deposes Rev. George Taylor from the Episcopal clergy, after finding him guilty of having invited a Unitarian clergyman to address the Episcopal Mission Sunday School. *Photograph from the Society's Collection.*

Some California Dates of 1861

Compiled by GORDON C. ROADARMEL

THE PURPOSE OF THIS CHRONOLOGY is to interest readers in events which took place in California one hundred years ago this year. This compilation is not intended as a definitive or scholarly endeavor and should not be construed as an Annals of California for 1861. The direct quotations are taken from Langley's *San Francisco Directory*, 1861 and 1862; San Francisco *Daily Evening Bulletin;* and San Francisco *Herald.*

JANUARY 1	An Auburn lawyer fatally stabs an Auburn publisher with a bowie knife opposite the What Cheer House in downtown San Francisco. The *Bulletin* also reports a shooting and two stabbings in Sacramento, and concludes: "This was a very dull New Year's Day."
JANUARY 4	Services are held at only one church in San Francisco on the day set aside by President Buchanan for Humiliation and Fasting, since many here "would prefer a thanksgiving to a fast, in view of the fact that the crisis which has so long impended has come at last with no severer shock. . . ."
JANUARY 5	The Mechanics' Institute declares itself "uncompromisingly opposed to the importation of barbarians . . . thousands of the more worthless people of the Chinese Empire . . . who differ from African slaves only in the duration of time in which they are held to service. . . ."
JANUARY 5	"A very serious shooting affray" occurs in Los Angeles between the editor of the *Southern News* and the editor of the Los Angeles *Star.* Accused of "a rather racy affair" by the editor of the *Southern News,* the editor of the Los Angeles *Star* attempts to horsewhip his rival on a downtown street but is shot three times instead.

January 6	After heavy rain, San Francisco is "about six inches under the surface of mud today," while in Sacramento legislators are "loath to adjourn at very early hours" and enter "the surrounding ocean of liquid earth."
January 7	"There was nothing . . . to offend the most nervous" in the Grand Gymnastic Review presented by the Bush Street Ladies' Gymnasium and Seminary, though "such public displays of gymnastic prowess and agility on the part of females would be apt, eventually, to diminish that shrinking delicacy so charming in woman, and which stands in more peril in a new land like California perhaps than in any other Christian country."
January 10	N. T. Stockfleth, Consul for Hamburg, and San Francisco purchasing partner for the Lady Adams Company, shoots himself when he is unable, because of trade speculation, to make the large payments due on this steamer day.
January 12	The Lady Adams Company, oldest business firm in Sacramento (since 1849), closes after suits totalling over $48,000 are filed against it.
January 14	A train of eighteen immigrant families from Utah arrives in San Bernardino.
January 15	Steamer passage from New York to Southampton is advertised at $100 first class and $35 steerage.
January 16	Three convicts are killed and thirteen wounded when thirty prisoners break out of San Quentin, snatching up the Deputy Warden, a sheriff, and two guards to drape over their shoulders for protection.
January 17	"The mud is stiffened again so much . . . that it is a pleasure to walk the streets once more."
January 18	The Legislature's attempt to fix a day for the election of a U. S. Senator is defeated, some wanting to wait until Lincoln's inauguration, others anticipating "a general breaking up and reformation of parties under the influence of the secession excitement."

JANUARY 19	The *Ocean Pearl* from Hongkong brings a cargo of rice, sugar, tea, and 52 boxes of opium, along with news of the October 25th treaty between the British-French allies and the Chinese government.
JANUARY 21	The annual state education report urges that teachers' salaries be raised from their present average of $66.72 per month, since they are now responsible for almost 27,000 students in 593 public schools, including two high schools.
JANUARY 23	Debating in Sacramento on several Union-saving resolutions, the Chairman of the Committee on Federal Relations says that he favors the Union, but rather than accept the principle of abolition, "I would see the country deluged in fraternal blood; I would see all my kith and kin doomed to death, and burned at the stake. I would see the last man on the continent die!"
JANUARY 25	After bitter debate, the Legislature approves a salary schedule to abolish the fee system for San Francisco officials. Annual salaries will now range from $1200 for the thirty-four policemen, to $8000 for the sheriff.
JANUARY 26	The Judiciary Committee in Sacramento requests Congress to draw the eastern boundary of California so as to include the silver regions of Utah.
JANUARY 27	Thirteen Indians are killed in Humboldt County, in retaliation for cattle rustling.
FEBRUARY 2	California's Latham warns the U. S. Senate that if war should break out, "the people would in the end fly to monarchy as a means of salvation." If a compromise can not be reached with the Secessionists, he reports, "a large majority of the citizens of the coast will say, 'Let them go in peace'."
FEBRUARY 3	A 55 mule pack-train encamps on the Plaza in Sacramento before leaving for the Esmeralda mining district. "Their cargo consists of groceries and liquors."

FEBRUARY 5	San Francisco's "City College" opens in a two-story wooden structure replacing Dr. Burrowe's Classical School, which has been meeting in the basement of Calvary Church.
FEBRUARY 6	"All who like Daniel Webster pray that when their eyes shall be turned to behold, for the last time, the sun in the heaven, they may not see him shining on the broken and dishonored fragments of a once glorious Union," are cordially invited to attend the Union Meeting in Oakland tonight.
FEBRUARY 7	San Francisco's first speeding fine of $15 is slapped on Mr. Gasper "for putting his horse through Montgomery Street at a rate that should be monopolized by steam engines in desert places."
FEBRUARY 9	The 57th mining company to be incorporated in San Francisco in the last ten months is formed for operation in Tuolumne County.
FEBRUARY 10	San Francisco Police Chief Burke prohibits Chinese New Year fire-crackers except from 6 to 8 a.m. "Sacramento Street became one grand thundershop" at dawn, but "the police captured full 15 Chinamen before order could be re-established: after which Sunday was as quiet again as if there were not a barbarian in town."
FEBRUARY 12	A lump of gold worth $10,000 is found in Sierra County.
FEBRUARY 15	California hails the Senate's passing of the Pacific Railroad Bill. If the House concurs, "we will have a railroad to St. Louis in ten years," though "in case of a permanent dissolution of the Union, the building of the railroad would of course be indefinitely postponed."
FEBRUARY 15	Troops occupy Fort Point for the first time. Additional forces are also being brought to the Presidio, but the military company of 125 men on Alcatraz is considered sufficient.
FEBRUARY 17	Dr. Scott, eminent San Francisco clergyman, urges peace at all costs, saying: "The idea that 33,000,000 of

freemen should go to war in this Christian age, about 3,000,000 Africans, who were being civilized, educated and christianized among us . . . is preposterous."

February 20 Margaret Hyde, a 26-year-old San Francisco maid, takes poison because her fiancé has not been heard from since he went to the mines three months ago.

February 24 "A score or more" Sacramento legislators attend the First Congregational Church in San Francisco. "For legislators we must say that they behaved admirably. Only two of them went out during the service, only one yawned aloud, and no more than half-a-dozen got sound asleep."

March 4 "The sensitively sanguine affirm that since 12 o'clock, when it is presumed 'Honest Uncle Abe' swore, as President of the United States, to support the Constitution, the air is sweeter . . . they collect their debts easier, digest their food better, love their wives and children more sincerely, and have more faith in the flag. The very keen-scented discover a millenial fragrance in the air."

March 5 After their annual visit to San Quentin, the State Legislative Committee protests that "the 500 vile and wretched beings there confined are herded together in small, dismally dark rooms . . . calculated to facilitate rather than punish or retard the commission of crime."

March 6 "Uncle Abe has been in his seat . . . these two days and nothing yet has been done about that dead dog that lies rotting . . . just out of Montgomery Street. What is the use of a Republican Administration if such nuisances are not to be abated?"

March 7 Remarkable gold strikes are reported at Horsetown, Roaring River and Poverty Gulch, in Shasta County.

March 9 In a public service, Bishop Kip deposes Rev. George Taylor from the Episcopal clergy, after finding him guilty of having invited a Unitarian clergyman to address the Episcopal Mission Sunday School.

March 11	Hearing that Lincoln is growing a beard, the *Bulletin* comments: "Now it may seem a hopeless task to attempt disguising Uncle Abe's classic homeliness. But let a grand and grizzly beard veil that famous lower jaw ... and we do not see why the presidential portrait should any longer frighten babies, or the people of Charleston."
March 13	The Convention to choose a U. S. Senator adjourns in Sacramento after the 13th ballot, the Breckinridge Democrats, Douglas Democrats, and Republicans being unable to reach an agreement.
March 14	A bounty of $2 is offered for every wild animal killed in Marin County.
March 15	Insanity is becoming "fearfully common" in California. "If this year's average should continue for another year, the Insane Asylum will have to double its size."
March 17	The Pony Express reports on Lincoln's inaugural, while a St. Louis correspondent regrets that "he should invest his thoughts in so dreary and dismal a mist and dirty smoke as envelopes this Inaugural speech."
March 18	In a public trial of the steam engine belonging to the Monumental Fire Company, a stream of water is thrown over the roof of St. Mary's Church; but at this point the hose bursts.
March 20	A 56-gun salute from Telegraph Hill greets the election on the 20th ballot of General McDougal as U. S. Senator. But half an hour later the Clerk announces a mistake of two votes that nullifies the election.
March 24	Consternation is aroused when Dr. Scott, of San Francisco's Calvary Church, prays for both Union and Confederate Administrations, since "some people are of the opinion that Messrs. Davis and Stephens should not be prayed for."
March 26	"The time is not far distant when San Francisco will rival New York in her fleets of ocean going steamers, or

	her splendid clippers . . . We hope before many years to see a Staten Island at Saucelito, and a Brooklyn at Contra Costa."
March 30	"The greatest billiard match ever played in this State" is witnessed by four hundred persons at Tucker's Academy of Music in San Francisco.
April 2	The Legislature elects James A. McDougal as U. S. Senator for the second time.
April 4	Creation of the county of Esmeralda is delayed because the Assembly has amended the name to Mono County. Senator Logan points out that *mono* means *monkey* in Spanish, but suggests that "it is not an inappropriate title under the circumstances."
April 7	Eight emigrant wagons leave Los Angeles for Texas.
April 8	The *per diem* of legislators is being reduced from ten to five dollars, which "will doubtless have the effect of hurrying up legislation."
April 10	In setting an execution for Tuesday, rather than Friday, Judge Campbell "has discarded one of the last relics of medieval barbarism . . . he has obliterated 'hangman's day' from the calendar."
April 16	Pony Express rates are reduced from $5 to $2 per half ounce.
April 17	Publication of the 1860 Census reveals California's population as 380,015, only 55,000 less than Arkansas. This will entitle her to another representative in the 38th Congress.
April 18	"The most brilliant ball we have seen in years" honors the retiring French Consul in San Francisco, with "the elite of French and American society . . . lending respectability, grace, beauty, fashion and enjoyment to the occasion."
April 24	"Civil War Commenced . . . Tremendous Excitement Etc. Etc. Etc." reads the *Herald* headline, as news of the April 12th firing on Fort Sumter reaches

	California. "The tidings . . . that the crimson banner of fratricidal war had been flung to the breeze . . . fell upon our startled community like a thunderclap from a clear sky."
April 25	The *Herald* urges California "to shun and avoid any entanglement with the difficulties of the East," suggesting that she "make the best of the lamentable fact," since "thousands of families will shelter themselves from the storm on our tranquil coast . . . and will materially enhance the welfare, power and independence of our State."
April 27	San Francisco papers feud over accusations that the *Evening Herald* copies its Eastern news from the morning *Bulletin.* Responds the *Herald:* "Vindictive, mendacious, unscrupulous and cowardly, the *Bulletin* is but a synonym for all that is vile and infamous."
April 28	In Los Angeles, a Mexican desperado who has murdered his wife attempts to escape on horseback, but "is taken by the crowd . . . and hung without judge or jury."
April 29	The Assembly passes a bill "to prevent the amalgamation of different races of men in the State."
April 30	A fire in the San Francisco Mint is extinguished with little damage save "the immense flooding bestowed by the Fire Department."
May 1	San Francisco High School graduates eleven girls and two boys.
May 3	William Price, age 23, and Priscilla Hooper, age 12, are married by Judge Houx in Napa Valley.
May 4	The clipper *Sea Nymph,* 120 days from New York with a cargo "of immense value," is wrecked in a dense fog at Point Reyes. On the same day, steamer rates to New York are increased to $128 steerage and $258 first class.
May 5	Forty men favoring a Pacific Republic raise the Bear Flag at El Monte, fourteen miles from Los Angeles.

MAY 6	The *Sonora* brings nearly one thousand passengers to California, most of whom "seek here an asylum from the sectional commotion and internecine strife which have filled every home in the Eastern States with alarm and terror."
MAY 7	The Mint announces that $900,000 worth of gold dust was deposited this week in San Francisco.
MAY 8	Shasta County citizens raise a fund to be used as bounties for Indian scalps. A detachment of ten volunteers is "doing good service" in killing Indians who have been destroying settlers' lives and property.
MAY 12	25,000 people gather for a Union Demonstration in San Francisco, where "our pulses beat in unison for the Union, and all doubts of our loyalty have been swept into the sea of perdition."
MAY 15	The House passes a bill to incorporate the town of Santa Barbara, and then adjourns to help lay the corner-stone of the new State Capitol.
MAY 17	The Legislature finally passes the Union Resolutions pledging California to the United States. Dan Showalter, Speaker *pro tem,* was one of twelve who opposed the measure in the House.
MAY 23	Twelve cases of smallpox are reported in Napa.
MAY 24	In a dispute about the Union Resolutions, the Honorable Dan Showalter of Mariposa kills the Honorable Charles Piercy of San Bernardino in a Marin County duel. Among the 60 spectators are eight other legislators, serving as seconds and advisors. Both principals were served refreshments before the duel at the residence of Charles Fairfax.
MAY 26	New books on sale include George Eliot's *Silas Marner*, and volumes by Balzac and Oliver Wendell Holmes.
MAY 27	A large crowd attends the funeral of "the brave, gifted and unfortunate" Piercy. The coffin inscription reads: "Charles W. Piercy, aged 26 years. He sleeps an honorable sleep."

May 28 The *Imperial* from Hongkong brings 438 Chinese immigrants, and news that the French have captured Cochin China.

May 29 "A theatrical fever seems to have seized the public mind" in San Francisco, where James Stark and H. A. Perry are starring in ten different plays in the next ten days. Tonight's *Othello* will be followed by *Macbeth, King Lear, Damon and Pythias, Richelieu* and other attractions.

June 1 Seth Kinman of Humboldt County has manufactured a chair from elk-horns for Louis Napoleon "as a specimen of what the bone and sinew of California can do."

June 2 "Horsethief Jack" is arrested in San Mateo County for robbing a man of $87 after asking him to smell a "drink" of chloroform.

June 3 The new Lake County is formed, with Forbestown, on Clear Lake, as its county seat.

June 5 Drums beat on K Street in Sacramento, recruiting for the war, as the Pony Express announces that federal troops began moving south on May 23rd. "The Rubicon has been passed . . . but we may still be allowed to hope . . . that peaceful counsel will prevail before any serious collision shall occur."

June 6 "The most successful drama of the age," "Ten Nights in a Bar-Room," marks the reopening of the American Theater in San Francisco.

June 10 Reports reach Los Angeles that the emigrant train going to Texas was attacked by Apaches at Graham's Pass, where many of the party were killed.

June 12 Fifty-five Indians have been killed in Humboldt County in the last two weeks. San Franciscans protest the "unnecessary brutality, how harrassing soever the provocation . . . Surely some Christian plan might be adopted by the Government to put an end to these wild and horrible transactions."

June 13	San Francisco street construction workers strike for $2 per day and a 10-hour system.
June 14	"Justice has become a complete farce" in San Bernardino, where Constable Johnson stabs Mr. Thomas Mills in a quarrel over a horse. "It is a damnable shame that San Bernardino Valley, which is naturally the paradise of California, should be made a hell on earth by these villains."
June 15	"Sad as has been the intelligence brought by the Pony Express during the last two months, yesterday's letter bag contained the most sorrowful news of all,"—the death of Stephen A. Douglas.
June 16	A four-year-old in Calaveras County picks up "something shiny" and discovers a $50 lump of gold.
June 18	San Franciscans are assured that the booming of cannons on Alcatraz is only target practice.
June 19	Leland Stanford accepts the Republican nomination for Governor.
June 22	General Johnston, until recently the military commander on this coast, is in Los Angeles, planning to leave for Texas with some fifty Californians "who seek service under Jeff. Davis."
June 25	Professor Bushnell, the "Electro-biologist," is drawing large crowds for his exhibitions of "animal magnetism" at the Opera House in San Francisco.
July 1	Escorted from town by "an immense concourse of citizens, with bands of music and cannon firing," the Overland Stage leaves Placerville for its first trip East, carrying 10,000 letters from San Francisco. Passenger fare to St. Louis is $200, passengers to furnish their own meals.
July 2	Italian flags fly at half-mast in California in memory of Count Cavour, recently deceased.
July 3	"An earthquake of first-class pretensions for modern California, a fire on the southern peak of Telegraph

	Hill, beautifully illuminating the city, and a comet in full blaze . . . make the eve of the 4th of July notable."
JULY 4	In San Francisco, 30,000 people view the fireworks in Washington Square; in Stockton, "the Insane Asylum is magnificently decorated with the flags of all nations"; in Los Angeles, "a procession remarkable for the paucity of its numbers" is held; and in San Luis Obispo, the County Judge shoots a man waving the American flag. The judge is first reported to be a Secessionist, but a later account says: "Both were Union men; both are common drunkards."
JULY 11	A 23-year-old prisoner bathing in the Sacramento slough is drowned when pulled down by his ball and chain.
JULY 12	Horace Smith is acquitted in Auburn of slaying Samuel Newell in San Francisco on January 1st, the verdict being greeted "with loud demonstrations of applause by the bystanders."
JULY 15	Governor Downey engages in a fistfight on Montgomery Street during an argument over the recent Democratic convention.
JULY 16	Rhode Islanders in California raise $700 to buy a flag for their state regiments in the East.
JULY 17	San Francisco Supervisors vote to increase the police force to four captains and forty men.
JULY 20	The California Democratic party refuses to endorse Abolition, though both parties support the war as necessary to crush the rebellion in the South. Says the *Herald:* "You have the treason of the Secessionists on the one hand and the treason of the Abolitionists on the other."
JULY 22	727 Chinese arrive on the *Cimber*, 48 days from Hongkong. "If the Chinese immigration continues at this rate, the white laborers may well become alarmed . . . unless some means can be devised to employ the moon-

	eyed Celestials in occupations unbefitting or unremunerative to the white men."
July 23	San Francisco's noted actor Harry Courtaine agreed to recite "The Drunkard's Wife" at the grand Temperance Festival; but instead, being drunk again, "he was giving vent to his incoherent ravings in the station house."
July 24	2,000 wagons and 8,000 people have arrived overland in California thus far this year.
July 25	A San Francisco landlord is fined $75 for elevating a house on stilts in order to persuade the tenant to vacate.
July 27	Two prominent Amador citizens duel near the church-house, one being wounded in the abdomen at the third fire. "There is supposed to be a lady in the case."
July 31	Cheers for Lincoln, Seward and Sumner, a fight on the south side of the house, and a stampede from the gallery, prevent speakers from saying more than a few words at a meeting of the "Secession Party" (Breckenridge Democrats) in San Francisco's Music Hall.
August 2	Although Secessionists in Merced County fire cannons of rejoicing, most Californians regret the news of a "sad reverse of fortune" at Bull Run.
August 4	The Sunday Law, closing most places of business and amusement, takes effect; but many saloons remain defiantly open.
August 5	Mr. Flood, co-owner of the Auction Lunch Saloon, gives $20 to initiate a movement for sending money to distressed Eastern families, rather than flags to the troops.
August 6	A fishing boat is wrecked when struck by a large whale near the Farallon Islands.
August 7	Sonora's business district is wiped out by fire.
August 8	Newspapers advertise for volunteers to fill the five companies of California cavalry requisitioned by the Secretary of War to defend the Overland Route.

August 9	San Francisco businessmen raise $5,000 to defray legal expenses for the liquor seller, dry-goods dealer and melodeon-keeper arrested for disobeying the Sunday Law.
August 12	"The Greatest Living Wonders of the Age," two albino youths just arrived from the East, go on exhibit at Tucker's Academy of Music. Children and schools will be admitted at reduced prices.
August 14	The overland telegraph wires have now been extended 65 miles west from Salt Lake.
August 15	The French Catholic Church in San Francisco holds a high mass to honor the christening of "His Imperial Majesty Napoleon III."
August 16	General Sumner rejects one of the cavalry companies raised in San Francisco when the commanding officer is discovered to have Secessionist proclivities.
August 25	The steamer *J. A. McClellan*, bound for Red Bluff, explodes three miles below Knight's Landing, killing fifteen men and injuring all on board.
August 26	General Sumner is ordered to raise a column of from 5,000 to 10,000 Californians to march upon Texas and Arkansas.
August 27	The San Francisco *Daily Times*, official Republican newspaper, switches from Stanford to the Democrat, Conness, for Governor, explaining that "We have waited in vain for the candidates of our party to acknowledge . . . that there is not even a possibility of their election," and urging this switch to prevent the third candidate, a Secessionist, from being elected.
September 2	San Francisco police are required to swear a loyalty oath to the Federal government.
September 4	A Republican landslide brings in Leland Stanford and the whole Republican ticket.
September 5	The *Henry Brigham* from Liverpool is seized for belonging to citizens of a seceded State. Its Commander,

taken by surprise, had not heard that the War had begun.

September 9 A company of mounted state riflemen is authorized, to guard Humboldt County from "Indian depredations."

September 12 An election to locate the county seat of San Mateo County results in 656 votes for Redwood City, 364 for San Mateo Villa, 11 for San Mateo, and 1 for Belmont.

September 16 The troops raised to guard the Overland Trail are sent instead to Southern California, presumably for action against the Confederacy.

September 18 Langley's new *Directory* lists San Francisco's population as 83,233, with more than twice as many men as women.

September 19 "The foolish idea, conceived by speculators at Washington, of sending an army from California through Mexican territory to Texas, has been altogether abandoned."

September 20 Judge John McHenry is arrested on charges of enticing a U. S. private stationed at Alcatraz to desert and join the Disunionists.

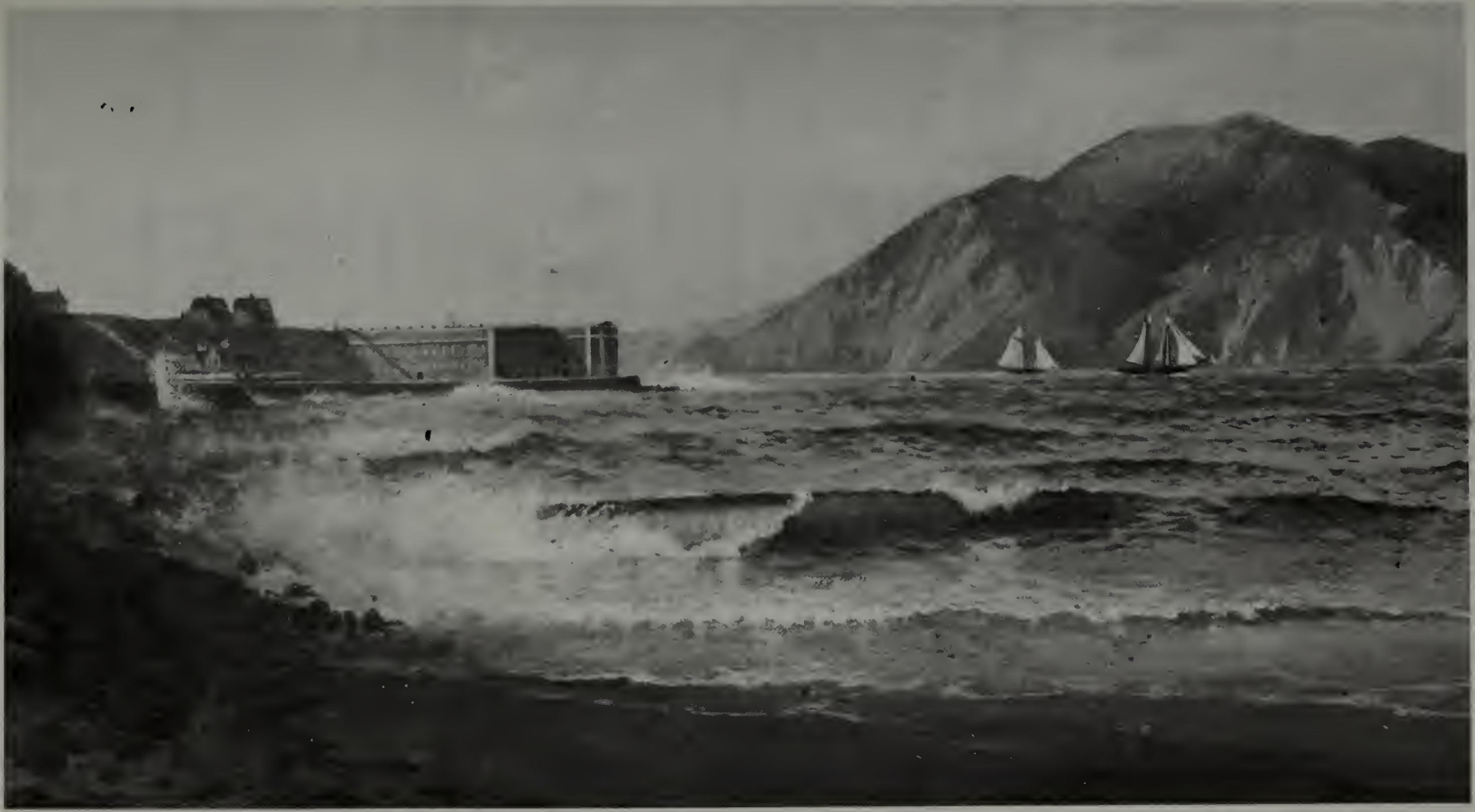
September 22 At Calvary Presbyterian Church, San Francisco police with drawn pistols protect Dr. Scott, known for secession sympathies, from a large crowd crying "Hang the traitor!" There were no evening services.

September 24 The State Supreme Court decides that the Sunday Law is constitutional. But the *Herald* protests: "It can easily be seen that Sunday laws are anti-Californian in their spirit . . . inconvenient and unsuited to our mixed population. . . ."

September 25 Seventy-five Indians attempt to set fire to the Spruce Grove mail station, but eventually settle for cooking and eating six horses that were on the premises.

September 27 "One John McFadden, a Stockton volunteer, having no other national enemy before him, laid seige to and attempted to take the Chinese quarters of that City. . . ."

	The jury, unable to ascertain the facts from "a number of wounded Chinamen" who appeared in court, acquit the prisoner.
OCTOBER 1	The Rev. Dr. Scott and family sail on the *Uncle Sam* for Europe.
OCTOBER 3	$200 is appropriated to secure the San Francisco City Hall bell, the city fire alarm "which has been in imminent danger of coming down for some time past."
OCTOBER 4	A 60-foot whale is harpooned near Oakland after a pursuit joined by almost all the boats in the Bay, and watched by spectators crowding wharves around the harbor.
OCTOBER 6	The newly elected Public Administrator of San Mateo declines installation "for the reason that the office is not worth having."
OCTOBER 7	The first day's exhibition of the whale at South Park nets $750 and some complaints that, although stuffed with ice, it still "smells pretty loud." San Franciscans are amused by an essay taking "the novel position" that the whale is a mammal, not a fish.
OCTOBER 8	The walls of the Forest Theatre in Sacramento collapse with a tremendous crash, damaging two stores and two men.
OCTOBER 10	For the third day, the hills back of Sausalito are "ablaze from base to summit . . . presenting a most gorgeous spectacle . . . surpassing even the pyrotechnic exhibition on the closing night of the State Fair."
OCTOBER 11	A South Beach resident complains in court against the exhibitors of the whale, protesting its odor even though "a modern Jonah spent almost the entire night of Wednesday in this novel dissecting room" applying disinfectants.
OCTOBER 12	The latest sensation on exhibit is the Emperor of China's watch, replacing Emperor Norton's sword, which was displayed last week.



Detail from "Fort Point" *by C. D. Robinson*, oil on canvas,
in the exhibition "The Golden Gate and Fort Point" at the Society Mansion.
Lent by John Howell–Books.

October 14	Californians are informed that "some shrewd Yankee" has invented a wringer consisting of two rollers, to be used with the washing machines that are just coming into general use.
October 15	Several men are temporarily buried when the walls of San Francisco's new Occidental Hotel collapse as workmen are putting on the roof.
October 17	A 15-year-old boy in Los Angeles robs a store and cuts the throat of the woman proprietor. A mob drags him down Alameda Street by a rope before stringing him up "as a warning to other malefactors."
October 19	Three Colusa County men are arrested for trying to sell five Indian children whom they had kidnapped.
October 21	General Sumner, with most of the regular troops from this coast, sails for the East, presumably for active duty on the Potomac.
October 24	The Atlantic and Pacific Telegraph line, hailed as "one of the wonders of the world," is completed, providing uninterrupted communication between San Francisco and New York. The first message comes from Brigham Young in Salt Lake City, saying: "Join your wires with the Russian Empire and we will converse with Europe."
October 25	Flags are at half mast for Colonel Edward D. Baker, killed October 22 at the head of the California Regiment at Ball's Bluff.
October 26	A drove of Spanish steers tramples a little girl at Green and Powell streets in San Francisco. "The practice of driving cattle through the streets has so often led to serious results that it is a wonder it should longer be tolerated."
November 2	A strike of the recently formed Plasterers' Union succeeds in its demands for $5 per day.
November 4	San Francisco citizens complain that the hog ranch on Jones Street is a public nuisance.

NOVEMBER 6 "The Telegraph does not seem to be in first rate working order." A thirty-word message from Washington takes seven hours for transmission.

NOVEMBER 7 "The contest between the whites and the Indians in Humboldt still goes on with unabated fury." Indians on Mad River kill and mutilate five farmers, "a terrible sight on this lonely prairie."

NOVEMBER 12 A handsome American flag made in California leaves for exhibition at the 1862 World's Fair in London.

NOVEMBER 15 Arriving in San Francisco are the Russian war steamer *Calevala*, bringing 190 officers and men from Kamchatka, and the schooner *Caroline E. Foote*, bringing ten Bactrian camels from "the Amoor river," to supplement the ones carrying salt to the ore refineries in Virginia City.

NOVEMBER 25 The first marriage performed by a Notary Public in California takes place in San Francisco, the State Supreme Court having decided recently that marriage is a civil contract.

NOVEMBER 28 California celebrates Thanksgiving with gratitude not only for its "exemption from the national calamity," but also because "the past year has furnished indisputable evidence that the people are improving in all those moral qualities without which no State can be truly happy or great."

NOVEMBER 29 Three men arrested for riding their horses on the sidewalk in San Francisco complain that Union Street "is so bad that there is no place but the sidewalk for equestrians or pedestrians."

DECEMBER 5 Dan Showalter and 17 other Californians are arrested near Los Angeles for treason while organizing companies to join the rebels.

DECEMBER 9 Over 500 people are killed when a sudden rise of the American River sweeps away the levees and many buildings in Sacramento. "The whole scene is one of

	wild desolation" as four feet of water covers downtown streets.
DECEMBER 11	"Never in the history of our State has there been witnessed a civic or military display equal to that paid the memory of Col. E. D. Baker," whose funeral service was conducted by Rev. T. Starr King in San Francisco today. Guns from Alcatraz and the Russian corvette salute Baker as he is buried next to Broderick, the young Senator killed in a duel last year.
DECEMBER 12	In Sacramento, where the river is still rising, Governor Stanford and many others are taking sufferers in at their second story windows; but some boatmen are charging victims as much as $75 for rescue. San Franciscans subscribe $15,000 for relief, and pass a resolution that "we should not talk of adding to their calamities the removal of the State Capitol to any other place."
DECEMBER 17	Passports are now required between New York and San Francisco to prevent rebels from reaching the South.
DECEMBER 18	Miss Virginia Howard, noted actress from the East, takes San Francisco by storm in "Camille." She receives two curtain-calls, "an honor seldom conferred by a San Francisco audience."
DECEMBER 21	Today's shipment of treasure to the East is extremely light, due to rumors that England may declare war on the United States.
DECEMBER 23	A second great flood inundates Sacramento and the entire valley from the Coast Range to the Sierra Nevada.
DECEMBER 24	On Christmas Eve, a committee of children presents an American flag to the Russian naval officers.
DECEMBER 25	The first break in the recent storm provides a sunny Christmas; but the celebration is saddened by the desolation of war in the East, and the destitution caused by floods in Northern California.
DECEMBER 26	Gale winds demolish houses during "one of the most stormy days ever known since the settlement of the Pacific coast."

DECEMBER 29 Winter storms have held up telegraphic communication from the East for several days.

DECEMBER 31 The telegraph line reopens, bringing news of the death of Prince Albert of England, and reporting further warlike preparations in that country. In California, though, "we think the war is being conducted on too grand a scale to be of long continuance . . . it would not surprise us if within sixty days the rebel experiment should terminate. . . ."

An early photograph of Jack London. *From the Society's Collection.*

Two Unpublished Letters of Jack London

Edited, with an Introduction by Warren I. Titus

In the spring of 1913, Winston Churchill, the eminently successful American novelist, received two letters from Jack London, one of the few fiction writers whose sales and earnings surpassed Churchill's own. The letters revealed London's curiosity about royalty rates and magazine serialization fees Churchill was receiving.

Both letters are now located in the Churchill Collection at Baker Library, Dartmouth College, Hanover, New Hampshire. They are here transcribed with faithful observance of the original punctuation. Churchill, who was residing in California at the time of their receipt, responded to at least one of the letters, but his replies are not available in the Dartmouth collection, since he did not keep carbon copies.

Jack London
Glen Ellen
Sanoma Co. Calif.

Mar 23 1913

Mr. Winston Churchill,

Dear Sir:-

I live in California—when I am not farther afield. I have published thirty-three books, as well as an ocean of magazine stuff, and yet I have never heard the rates that other writers receive.

If it is not asking too much, may I ask you to tell me (confidentially, of course) what top rates, average rates, and minimum rates, you receive from (1) English magazines, (2) American magazines, (3) English book-publishers, (4) American book-publishers.

Sincerely yours,
Jack London

Jack London
Glen Ellen
Sanoma Co. Calif.

April 20, 1913

Dear Mr. Churchill:-

In reply to your good letter of April 7, 1913, I certainly do appreciate the confidence you have given me, also the information. Concerning my own stuff, except for my first books I am getting twenty per cent. In the serialization, THE COSMOPOLITAN cuts one of my novels to 100,000 words, for which it pays me for American and English rights, $13,200.00. Despite the fact that my novels are shorter than yours and that I am a quick worker, turning out two and three a year, I must say that your $30,000 for "The Inside of the Cup" is a splendid big price.

Of course, you can understand my situation that prompted me to write to you for information. I have always been so out of it that I had no line upon my own pay.

I was most astonished to find that you are located for some time in California.

Some time when you are up in the Bay region, won't you run up and visit us - - - - this, of course, includes any one you may bring with you. Truly, I do not know whether you are married or not. It is as a born Californian that I dare to say to you that we will show you here a different California from any that you have so far seen.

Please always remember, also, that we are only camping out; but that nevertheless this is a dandy place for a man to loaf in and to work in.

Sincerely yours,
Jack London

The French Language Press in California

By Clifford H. Bissell

(Concluded)

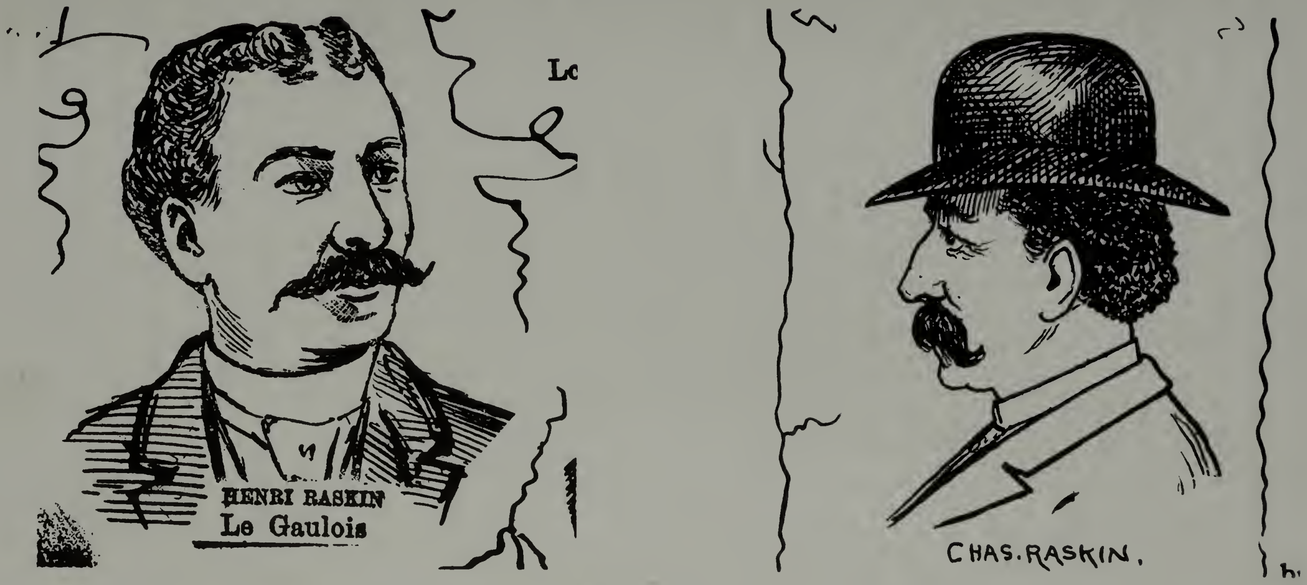
Rey tried various experiments to keep his paper lively and up to date, especially in the mid-1920's. Thus for about a year the *Echo* ran a colored comic section in English, and in April, 1924, it began a department called "L'Echo des Sports," which included baseball scores of the Pacific Coast League. This did not appear every day, and was dropped in June of the same year. On August 1, 1924, it was announced that the comic section would also be dropped:

> ...les dépenses occasionées par ce 'journal amusant' ne nous ayant pas apporté grande satisfaction, nous avons décidé d'en abandonner la distribution. Notre Directeur, au cours de son voyage en France, compte s'entendre avec la Maison des Imageries d'Epinal pour une édition illustrée qui répondrait mieux au goût de la Colonie Française et qui ferait plus de plaisir à nos lecteurs étant rédigée en français.[47]

This project was never realized, but Rey, then seventy years old, thoroughly enjoyed his trip revisiting France after forty-three years. He was invited to take part in the banquet and other festivities in honor of President Doumergue at Nîmes; he put a "palme de bronze" on the tomb of the Unknown Soldier, placed a bronze plaque on the graves of Raphaël and Sylvain Weill in the Cimetière Montparnasse in Paris, and contributed 1240 francs from the profits of the 14th of July celebration to the Gueules Cassées, an association of French war wounded. The year 1924 was marked by several changes on the paper. On February 23, Mme R. J. Mercier became an official collaborator and advertising agent, writing articles under the heading "Quelques Réflexions: Veillées chez la tante Jane." Another addition to the staff that year was

Jehanne Biétry, who had had considerable journalistic experience in the Orient; she wrote the editorials during Rey's absence, from July to October. Other editorials appeared signed C.B.W., S.F., H.P., etc. On October 30 the *Echo* reported the return of Rey, "en parfaite santé et rajeuni de dix ans." On July 3, 1925, he was decorated chevalier de la Légion d'Honneur,[48] and at the annual 14th of July celebration the official committee presented him with "une croix ravissante."

In September, 1925, the quarrel with Lusinchi flared up again, the occasion being a deficit in the quarterly report of the Hospital. Lusinchi stated that Rey agreed with him that the institution was heading for ruin. Rey retorted that he merely claimed that it gave too much for what it got, and that dues had been raised only 25%, whereas expenses had increased much more. Yet, says Rey, the *Franco-Californien* joins the "feuille immonde de M. Godeau" in accusing the directors of wasting funds. Lusinchi protested that he was not an accessory of Godeau's, but Rey did not recant, maintaining that just as Lusinchi had once felt that he needed *L'Impartial Californien* and *Le Blagueur*, though he had the *Franco-Californien*, so he now felt that he needed "le journal pornographique de Godeau." The quarrel went on, with many details, through a good part of October, with accusations, among other things, of concealing the true state of affairs from the members of the Society. The term "pornographic," now constantly applied to *La Vérité* by the *Echo*, demands some explanation. Rey says, in an article on October 13, that he had never accused Godeau of cheating or business dishonesty; until the last three years he had done nothing objectionable except sometimes being "rude et encombrant," but that since then he has been publishing a sheet "ne se plaisant que dans l'obscénité et la diffamation des honnêtes gens, ne respectant ni filles, ni femmes, ni vieillards," besmirching the reputation of even young girls: yet now he has announced himself as a candidate for the San Francisco Municipal Council and wants the colony to endorse his candidacy. The same issue contains an open letter from Jehanne Biétry-Salinger—retired from the *Echo* since her recent marriage—to the *Franco-Californien*, which had urged support of Godeau's candidacy because he is French; she says that for months she was subjected to "attaques brutales et grossières" on the part of Godeau simply because she was associated with


HENRI RASKIN
Le Gaulois
CHAS. RASKIN.

Henri Raskin and Charles Raskin from the April and December issues of *The Cactus*.
Reproduction courtesy of the Huntington Library, San Marino, California.

the *Echo,* and that others were similarly insulted: therefore, French or no, Godeau is not a fit person to be elected. As a matter of fact, he was not, though he got 29,789 votes; the notorious Schmitz was defeated at the same time. Rey said that many of the Americans who voted for Godeau would not have done so if they had known about *La Vérité.*

On February 17, 1926, the *Echo* says it does not believe that the *Franco-Californien* will go so far as to reproduce the letter sent by Godeau and Lascroux to the president of the Société Française de Bienfaisance Mutuelle, a letter for which Lascroux ought to be thrashed. Rey adds, "Jamais la colonie n'a été salie par une feuille semblable, qui associe les insultes les plus grossières . . . à une pornographie la plus sale qu'on puisse lire." Early in April of 1926 Rey suffered the hardest blow of his career in the death of his son Georges, at the age of thirty-eight. For ten years Georges had been an important collaborator in the work of the *Echo,* and had given up a position in the French bank in 1916 in order to devote himself to helping his father. He had continued to work for a long time after being ill. On August 21 the *Echo* started "Colombat's Columns, a Record of Personal Opinion, by Henry Colombat," to appear on Wednesdays and Saturdays; it was entirely political, and was written in English. With the end of the year came also the end of the *Echo.* On December 10 Rey announced that the merger proposed by the *Franco-Californien,* rumored years before, would become a fact, marking the realization of "un projet qui était longtemps dans l'air." Why not? he says: "enterrons la hachette." Beginning on January 1, 1927, the new combination would appear under the name of *Le Courrier du Pacifique.* Rey was to continue as director, Lusinchi to be editor-in-chief, François Poggi the administrateur gérant, and Maubailly secrétaire de la rédaction. Two of Rey's sons, Léon M. and Noël, became members of the staff of the new paper. Old age and failing health were beginning to tell on Rey, especially since the death of Georges, and the old fighter did not survive the merger much over a year.

It was almost certainly in 1927 that *La Vérité* became a daily. As such it consisted of eight pages, about 16 by 22½ inches, six columns to the page. It pictured a nude female figure standing beside the Ferry Building and the docks of San Francisco, holding in her hand a mirror from which stream rays in all directions. It was published daily except Sundays, at 5 cents a copy, 50 cents a month, and claimed to be the "seul quotidien indépendant français de la côte du Pacifique." It had news, the usual feuilleton, some sporting items, notices, many advertisements, and occasionally even a "comic," in English. In 1928 Jules Godeau is listed as director and A. Dechezelles as editor. In 1932 the name of J. Sallaberry, present (1960) editor of the *Courrier Français des Etats-Unis*, appears as translator. The paper ceased publication some time in the last quarter of 1932,[49] and Godeau died on January 1, 1934.

Minor Periodicals, 1906-1926

During the twenty years following the earthquake and fire of 1906, French journalism in northern California consisted almost entirely of the three papers whose relations have just been dealt with. In 1912 a paper appeared which apparently did not intend to run for more than one issue, since it calls itself "numéro unique." This was *Le Prolétaire*, dated San Francisco, February 17, 1912, "édité par la Branche Latine des I. W. W."—the violently radical International Workers of the World. It had two pages, and was accompanied by an Italian edition, *Il Proletario*, of two pages and part of a third; the contents of the two are not the same. The French edition has a long article, "Le Syndicalisme en Amérique"; a protest against the condemnation in France of "le camarade Gustave Hervé" (then editor of *La Guerre Sociale)*, signed B. Saffores; and an unsigned article entitled "L'Exploitation des Français en Californie." This attacks the proprietors of French laundries and bakeries, many of whom, it says, are neither French nor American, and evade the labor laws and shamefully exploit their workers. Worse yet, this vile caste of "pressuriers des prolétaires" has found in San Francisco a daily journal "qui se dit représenter les notables de la colonie française, qui est aussi immonde qu'elle. . . ." This "quotidien aussi ignoble," "que nous croyons inutile de nommer," was the *Franco-Californien*. Another article attacks "les salaires de famine" paid by the Steel Trust.

The 1915 *Le Blagueur* of Lusinchi has already been mentioned in connection with his part in the factional strife in the colony.

In 1925 François Poggi, who had come to San Francisco immediately after his discharge from the French Army at the end of the war, and who was at this time working as a linotyper for the *Echo de l'Ouest*, initiated *Le Chat Noir,* "Journal humoristique paraissant le samedi." It sold for 5 cents a copy, $2.50 a year, and the first number was published November 14, 1925. It was printed on pink paper, 18¼ by 24 inches, by H. J. Carle and Sons. It contained no news or editorials; it was made up of more or less humorous material, including illustrations, taken from French publications, especially *Le Canard Enchaîné.* It had a feuilleton and advertisements, which were less numerous than might be expected and which included one of the *Echo* and one of the *Franco-Californien.* On either side of the title on the front page were two imposing black cats, one pair framing a picture of the Eiffel Tower, the other a picture of the Ferry Building. Although Poggi tried his best to push his paper, the French people of San Francisco did not respond, and it ceased after four numbers. Poggi was later on the staff of the *Courrier du Pacifique.*

The Recent Years

The start of 1927 saw the initiation of the *Courrier du Pacifique,* resulting from a merger of the *Echo de l'Ouest* and the *Franco-Californien.* With the cessation of *La Vérité* in 1932 it became the only French newspaper in northern California, which it has been most of the time since, though it was not able to maintain itself as a daily. As mentioned earlier, Léon Rey was the director of the new paper, but died about a year after its inception; Lusinchi was editor-in-chief, François Poggi the "administrateur-gérant," and Maubailly "secrétaire de la rédaction." The paper was published every morning except Mondays and legal holidays, and sold for 5 cents a copy, $10.80 a year. The offices were at 2448 Clay Street. The paper was eight pages of seven columns each (reduced to six in 1939); it displayed as its motto "L'Union Fait la Force," and announced as its policy, "Propager les Principes de la Révolution Française"; following this was a quotation from *Les Droits de l'Homme et du Citoyen:* "Les Hommes Naissent et Demeurent Libres et Égaux en Droits." It claimed to have been established in 1852, tracing descent from the *Echo du Pacifique,* founded that year, through the *Courrier de San Francisco* and the *Franco-Californien.* The paper also advertised itself as "the only publication that reaches daily the French speaking population west of New York." Because of the death of Rey the paper was mainly in the hands of

Lusinchi, who for a number of years ran a column called "Au Fil des Jours," under the pseudonym O'Pingui. In 1939 the *Courrier* absorbed *Le Courrier Français* of Los Angeles.

A monthly political paper entered the northern California scene in 1936, presumably in May. This was *La France d'Aujourd'hui*, "Organe mensuel du Front Populaire de Langue Française sur la côte du Pacifique," "Pour la Paix, le Pain, la Liberté." It was four pages, in small format and small print, and sold for 5 cents. Georges Brunel was listed as director; the founder and editor was Paul Boulet, a cook at the Plaza Hotel in San Francisco, with the collaboration of René Battaglini; there was some connection with an address at 342 West 48th Street, New York. The paper was primarily a Socialist propaganda organ, and carried no advertising. It states, "Pour vivre notre journal n'a que les ressources de nos abonnés et le support des sections de la Fédération, et les sacrifices du comité de rédaction." The issue of November, 1936, carried an article by Robert Langey, secretary of the French Radical-Socialist Party, exhorting, "Brisons l'offensive fasciste et assurons la paix universelle." There were articles against Hitler, "le fou furieux de Nuremberg." In 1937 the paper urged intervention in China and Spain. The February, 1939, number had an article, "Salut à Mooney!"[50] The June, 1939, issue contains an article by Julien Benda entitled "La France doit faire savoir aux Etats-Unis qu'elle est républicaine." The July, 1939, issue was the last; presumably the outbreak of the war put an end to the journal.

Another monthly, originally intended as a newsletter of the Société Française de Bienfaisance Mutuelle, began in November, 1938. It was edited and published by the brothers Abel and Louis Carle at 540 Washington Street, San Francisco, under the title of *Le Sociétaire*. It was a four-page paper, about 8 by 11 inches; it carried no advertising and was obtainable free on request. An article by Louis Carle in the first issue, covering the whole front page and part of the second, announced, "Comme le titre l'indique, ceci est simplement un Bulletin d'information pour les Membres de la Société . . . seulement. Ce n'est pas un journal." It was, in fact, inspired by the familiar conviction that the Society was rapidly going downhill financially ("va à grands pas vers la ruine"), and that something must be done to save it. "Toute politique dans cette feuille serait formellement interdite." The first issue was all in French, but the editors realized that the paper should be bilingual, and in most succeeding issues the English part took up more space than the French. The portions printed in the two languages were only partially the same in content. Louis Carle was an able and trenchant writer in both French and English. Dr. Reginald F. Grant, the other chief contributor, explained in a long letter in the August, 1939, issue that the English section was required because all transactions of the Society and of the French Hospital were conducted in French, but that the majority of the members, American-born, had difficulty reading, speaking, or understanding that language. Dr. Grant himself was of French-Scottish parentage; he had occupied an important post in the French Hospital, but the politics that were carried on in the Society had caused him to resign in disgust.

No. 2 of *Le Sociétaire,* besides being partly in English, changed in format, having eight pages and a number of advertisements, most of them in English only. No. 3 (January, 1939) again doubled the total number of pages, but of the sixteen only five were in French. The English section contained articles on the history of the microscope, advice to expectant mothers, and recommendations on the prevention and treatment of colds. With No. 4 the paper returned to four pages, enlarged to 17 by 22 inches, with seven columns to a page. The April, 1939, number had a boxed editorial entitled "Politics Hurt the Hospital." The paper fought for the elimination of internal politics and for reforms that would end the deficit. The August number, referring to an article in the *Courrier du Pacifique*, says that the latter has never printed anything helpful or constructive for the hospital, but only praise or excuses for the majority vote.

With the outbreak of the second World War the paper became very active in furthering relief drives, and after the French débâcle of 1940 it distinguished itself by its vigorous and unrelenting anti-Pétainism. In June, 1940, it published an editorial warning against German propaganda from French newspapers due to arrive from occupied France, especially the pro-fascist *Le Matin.* "Tous les journaux français qui reprendront la publication seront sous un contrôle fasciste ou nazi." It especially warned its readers not to let themselves be influenced against Great Britain. With the July 1940 issue the page size was increased to 17 by 24 inches. The August 1940 number took a determined stand against Vichy: "The Pétain government is the government of France because its leaders are fascists and therefore friendly to Hitler. . . . No man can say a good word for a fascist or nazi government and call himself an American." The March 1941 issue reproduces a letter from General de Gaulle to Louis Carle, Dr. Grant, and Pierre Marracq (a former official of the French Hospital), thanking them for their support.

In April 1941 the paper changed its name to *Le Bulletin.* The reason given was that too many people not very familiar with the French language thought that the original name linked the paper with a political party—meaning, of course, the Socialists. The May 1941 number has an editorial protesting vehemently against the commiserative refrain so often uttered in favor of Pétain, "le pauvre vieux, il ne peut rien faire." Says the editorial, "il ne peut rien faire parce qu'il ne veut rien faire. . . . il a déjà fait ce qu'il voulait faire: détruire la république. M. Marracq, ainsi que les rédacteurs du *Bulletin,* avaient compris ceci dès le début et nous avons poursuivi une campagne anti-Vichy sans pitié." There is also a remark that the *Courrier du Pacifique* has finally set aside a space called "Le Coin de la France Libre." Just a "corner!" Even that little is more than before, whereas the Havas-Télémondial fascist communiqués were spread out on the front page, and still are. The December 1941 issue announces the untimely death of Dr. Grant, perhaps from overwork, at the age of 57. The issue of February 1942 quotes an article by "O'Pingui" (Lusinchi) in the *Courrier du Pacifique* saying that England hopes to fight to the last American. The *Bulletin* featured articles by Louis A. Taix, Pierre Marracq, A. Clot, and Paul Bibily, vice-consul of France in San Francisco and the only French official in the United States who refused to submit to Pétain. The anti-Vichy activities of the paper soon became so preponderant that they almost completely submerged its original role as an organ of information for the French Mutual Benefit Society and Hospital.

With Volume 5, No. 7, dated June 1943, comes the sudden announcement of the discontinuation of *Le Bulletin,* because Abel Carle was joining the American forces and Louis did not feel able to carry on alone with both the paper and the printing shop. In his farewell message, Louis Carle says that *Le Bulletin* was "the only publication worthy of being called a newspaper that the French colony has had since the death of Mr. Léon Rey"—this in spite of his declaration that *Le Sociétaire*, its predecessor, was not a newspaper. He goes on, "It was the first and only French publication in the United States and one of the first in the world to see through the machinations of the Vichy fascists and to expose them. . . . Some of our articles were quoted by the great news services and we were mentioned over the radio. . . . In referring to the *Bulletin* as the only real newspaper the French colony has had since the demise of that true republican, M. Rey, we mean precisely what we say and the French colony is well aware of the rôle the other French publication assumed for more than two years. . . . Their decision [to change their policy] came too late for their sheet had to throw in the sponge as a daily . . . and now appears but twice a week." *Le Bulletin* had never received financial support from any organization; when it announced its discontinuance the United States government offered to subsidize it, but Louis Carle declined the offer, saying that lack of funds was not the reason for its cessation.

As just indicated, the *Courrier du Pacifique*, during a good part of the war, showed an evident bias in favor of Pétain, Laval, and the whole Vichy régime. On September 20, 1942, no longer able to keep up with the increased cost of paper and other materials and hit hard by the inroads on its personnel caused by the draft and the armament industries, it became a semi-weekly, published on Tuesdays and Fridays. The price was lowered to $5 a year, and it was announced that deliveries would be made only by mail. Advertising rates remained unchanged. Hope was expressed that it would soon go back to its status as a daily, but this never happened, though in 1944 it did go back to seven columns to the page. On October 1, 1946, the paper appeared with a new masthead, featuring the Statue of Liberty instead of a cock, and a new name, *Le Courrier Français des Etats-Unis*. The explanation provided was: "Ce petit changement nous a été en quelque sorte imposé par le fait que ce titre régional de 'Courrier du Pacifique' ne convenait plus à un journal qui compte maintenant un grand nombre de souscripteurs dans divers Etats de l'Union et à l'étranger." The paper continued to claim an 1852 foundation date, making it "le Pionnier de la Presse du Far West," and it also claimed to be "le doyen des journaux français aux Etats-Unis." This must be taken to mean the oldest *existing* French paper, as there had been earlier French journals both in California and elsewhere in the country. In February, 1947, because of further increases in the cost of materials and labor, as well as the difficulty of finding French compositors and the growing indifference of the French population, the *Courrier* became a weekly, published on Thursdays. Again, it was hopeful the backward step would be temporary, but it has not proved so. In 1948 Lusinchi resigned the editorship because of old age and ill health; he died soon afterwards. His successor was Jean Sallaberry, who had been on the staff for some years, and had previously been connected with *La Vérité.*

Not to rival the *Courrier Français des Etats-Unis* but rather to supplement it, a "slick paper" illustrated monthly journal was begun in San Francisco in May, 1950. The director was John Gilland, the editor Henri Pardeilhan, and the printer Julian Lauray. The magazine was called the *Gazette Française de l'Ouest Américain,* published at 474 Fourth Avenue. Each issue was twelve pages, including covers; the front cover bore a scene from France, usually different in each issue; the price was $2.00 a year. The magazine contained considerable local news of the French colony, with illustrations, a leading article by some Frenchman not on the staff, a page of "Nouvelles de France," reviews of French books, a column "Mon San Francisco," by Jehanne Biétry-Salinger, recipes, and various bits of information. The *Gazette* announced as its chief aim "une meilleure entente franco-américaine et un rapprochement plus étroit des deux pays." Both Gilland and Pardeilhan were born in southern France, the former in Bessèges (Gard) in 1904, the latter at Bayonne in 1927. Gilland is an engineer by profession, having received his diploma from the Ecole Centrale des Arts et Métiers at Brussels. He was given the Medal of Freedom by the American government for valuable service to the United States Army as consulting engineer at the time of the invasion of France by the Allies in 1944. Pardeilhan worked on two Biarritz papers before coming to the United States, and from 1942 to 1946 directed an amateur theatrical company called the "Espoir Nouveau." In April, 1952, the *Gazette* announced that it would cease to exist as a separate publication and would merge with *France-Amérique* of New York, directed by George Pernoud. The latter announced that it would devote part of each issue to California, and that Gilland and Pardeilhan would be regular contributors.

Long ago, the editor and publisher of *Le National*, commenting on the brief life of a number of San Francisco French journals, said that the natural and desirable course of events was for all foreign language journals in the United States to grow fewer in number and finally, perhaps, to disappear altogether. In the 1950s it was hardly to be hoped that the San Francisco region could support two French journals, especially when one of them was so expensive to produce as the *Gazette*. The era of the daily French newspaper in California seems definitely ended, there having been none since 1942. The weekly *Courrier*—now published on Wednesdays—styles itself "a French newspaper devoted to French information and the promotion of French-American friendship." It consists of six pages of five columns each; about half the total space consists of advertising and notices. One page of news is reserved for the Los Angeles region, edited by Renée Flood. Jean Sallaberry is still the editor, and the general manager is Tamara Rey. The prices are $7.50 a year, $4.00 for six months, $2.25 for three months, or 20 cents a single copy. The offices are at 2448 Clay Street. Since April 16, 1948, the paper has conducted a weekly radio hour, "La Voix du Courrier."

According to the census of 1950 there were 6,741 persons born in France then living in the San Francisco urban area, which includes Oakland. Statisticians estimate that nearly all these immigrants have families, and figure that the total number of such persons is about 17,000, of whom approximately 56% are American citizens. While it is true that older families tend to preserve the French language through two or three generations, their chief language is English, which they are obliged to use in most of their business and professional activities, and which their children speak in school and at play. Very few persons come from France to settle in California nowadays. Those that do are mostly Basque sheepherders, who arrive in groups of about ten; many of these return home after amassing a certain amount of money. Descendants of older French families, while striving to maintain French culture, are actually Americans. They do not find it necessary to buy a

French newspaper to get the news of the day, and one such paper is quite sufficient to give them bits of French information and the French atmosphere that is absent from the American journals. Reports of the French Hospital are issued in both languages, and both are used in the announcements and sermons at the French church of Notre-Dame des Victoires.[51]

CHAPTER V

SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

The 'Fifties, 'Sixties, and 'Seventies

There are no distinctly marked periods in the history of the French press in this part of the state. In numbers and in influence it was far less important than the French language press of San Francisco. Los Angeles, not being near the gold fields and having in its early days no significance as a seaport, attracted fewer immigrants than San Francisco. It retained its Spanish atmosphere much longer, and for a time, indeed, was more Spanish than English in its language. Nevertheless, the French population increased, particularly during the decade 1850-1860.

There was a Spanish language weekly newspaper in Los Angeles after 1855, *El Clamor Público,* and in mid-1857 it instituted a French page. The issue of July 4 explains in both Spanish and French, with the erratic spelling and accentuation that marked the paper,

> La population française de notre ville nous a plusieurs fois manifesté le désir de voir une partie de notre journal redigé en français. . . . Aujourd'hui donc, nous sommes hewreaux d'avertir . . . qu'a partir du present numéro nous donnerons le compte-rendu de tous les journaux en gèneral, et nous esperons que la simpathie qui existe dèjá entre nous se simentera bien d'avantage par cette publication. . . .[52]

Page 3 was headed "Le Clameur Publique. Journal Républicain Français-Espagnol," and four of its five columns were in French. The fifth was advertisements in Spanish; during the next month these—and news in Spanish—gradually encroached on the French text until there were only three columns of the latter. The article "*Le*" was corrected to "*La*" on July 18. The issue of August 1 reprints the welcome the new venture had received from *Le Phare* in San Francisco:

> Nous avons reçu de Los Angeles le premier numéro de 'El Clamor Publico,'

> journal Français-Espagnol. Nous saluons ce nouveau confrére de la presse avec un sincère plaisir; le journal est redigé d'une maniére qui lui assurera ce que nous lui souhaitons. Il y a beaucoup de Français a Los Angéles, et un journal ècrit dans leur langue, sera d'une grande utilité pour défendre avec efficacité les intéréts de nos compatriotes.[53]

This was "hail and farewell," however, for the fifth weekly page was the last. The next issue, August 8, 1857, says, under the heading "A la Poblacion Francesa,"

> Con el nùmero anterior concluyó la parte francesa de *El Clamor Público,*—nos hemos visto obligados a tomar este paso por la indisposicion de la persona que nos ayudaba a redactarla: y esperamos que no sea mucha la diferencia para nuestros suscritores franceses, porque casi todos entienden muy bien el español.... es nuestra intención emprender la publicacion de un pequeño periódico semanal redactado en francés y dedicado enteramente a los intereses de la población francesa del Sur de California....[54]

No trace has been found of the execution of this last-named intention. For the next two years there continued to be in *El Clamor Público* advertisements of various French business and professional men in Spanish, as well as an occasional one in French. One, in the issue of July 10, 1858, hints at a story of which one would like to know more: "Avis au Public. Madame Perrodin n'ayant rien autre à répondre aux sales insultes qui lui ont eté faites, qu'en declarant que tous ces crimes sont d'avoir mis a la porte, de chez elle, à l'auteur des anonimes lancées contre elle." Occasionally there was a short article or letter in French; these increased slightly in the second half of 1859, averaging one a month. On August 27 and September 2 there were editorials in French urging voters of French origin to vote Republican. The French material was probably written by the editor and proprietor, Francisco P. Ramirez, who claimed to know Spanish, French, Italian, and English; he was only 21 when the paper suspended, at the end of 1859.

By 1859 there were enough Frenchmen in Los Angeles to justify the establishment of a vice-consulate there. *El Clamor Público* of October 1 of that year published, in French, a letter from French residents about the negotiations for such an office. It was opened on October 29, and the paper's issue of November 1 had an editorial (in Spanish) about the ceremonies which took place. The first incumbent, whose title was vice-consular agent and honorary consul, was J. A. Moerenhout, a man of real distinction. He was born in Antwerp in 1796 or 1797 and educated in France. He served for two years in the engineers corps of Napoleon's army, and was an expert miniature painter. He became a merchant in Chile, then went to Oceania, where he stayed and traveled some years, and in 1837 published *Voyage aux Iles du Grand Océan.* He spent much time in Tahiti, where President Jackson even appointed him American consul, and where he had some perilous adventures. He became French consul of the second class at Monterey in 1845. In connection with the French revolution of 1848 this consulate was abolished, but he consented to serve until 1850. After a number of diplomatic complications he decided to go to San Francisco, but Patrice Dillon became French consul there in 1850.

At the time of the opening of the consulate there were, according to *Le Guide Français de Los Angeles,* 600 Frenchmen in Los Angeles, half of whom were heads of families; the total number of inhabitants of the city did not much exceed 5,000. One of the French settlers, with the appropriate name of Jean Louis Vignes, was a pioneer in the wine business, and his nephews, the Sainsevain brothers, made the first champagne manufactured in California. During most of the period from 1859 to 1867, two other Frenchmen, Damien Marchessault and Joseph Mascarel, served as mayor of the city on one-year terms; this in spite of the fact that Mascarel, at least, could hardly read or write and knew very little English.[55] What seems today an almost incredible episode occurred in this connection at the close of the Civil War, when General McDowell paid an official visit to Los Angeles and was scheduled to make an address. Because most of the people, including of course Mayor Mascarel, understood Spanish and even French better than English, McDowell did not use his native tongue; he did not know Spanish, but fortunately was able to speak French,[56] so made his address in that language. Mascarel's ignorance of English and his near-illiteracy did not prevent him from being the proprietor of *L'Union,* southern California's first French newspaper, after the disappearance of its founder and first owner, F. Tamiet.

There is some discrepancy in the dates given by different sources for the founding of *L'Union,* which was a weekly. The *Los Angeles Herald* of July 28, 1878, says, "Yesterday's number of *L'Union* completed the second year of its existence," but in point of fact the anniversary was nine days later. The *Evening Express* of August 2, 1876, had noted, "The new French paper, 'L'Union,' is to make its appearance on Saturday, providing in the meantime the accented types, necessary to the material, are to be had from the foundry." That they were furnished in time is shown in the same paper of August 12, which remarks, "The second number of the French paper, *L'Union,* was issued to-day. It comes up to the promise of merit we had predicted, and is replete with interesting reading matter." The San Francisco *Alta California* also notes, on August 15, the appearance of the new paper in Los Angeles on the 5th. It was published at Wilmington and Commercial Streets, and is listed in the 1876 city directory, with F. Tamiet as proprietor and F. V. C. de Mondran as editor. This contradicts Julia N. McCorkle's statement that the original editor was Pierre Ganée. The latter appears as editor in the 1870-80 directory; he is also named as editor by the *Herald* of May 22, 1878, in a report of a speech by him. This must have been shortly after de Mondran resigned to start his own paper, *Le Courrier de Los Angeles,* in the first issue of which he tells us that Tamiet has absconded, leaving debts and apparently having forged checks and embezzled money.

Little is known about *L'Union,* and we would like also to know more about Tamiet and de Mondran. Like Lusinchi of the *Franco-Californien* in San Francisco, Tamiet was a Corsican, born in Bastia in 1833. After coming to California he quickly became an important personage in the Société Mutuelle de Bienfaisance of Los Angeles, which he joined on July 11, 1875, when de Mondran was president; he at once took an active part in all the meetings. On March 5, 1876, he was elected to the governing committee by sixty votes, the largest number received by any candidate. At a special session on July 16 of the same year he proposed the discharge of one of the two official doctors for unbecoming conduct, and the motion was unanimously carried. At the meeting of February 25, 1877, there was a violent dispute between Tamiet and one C. Meyer, and both were called to order. So far Tamiet seems to have enjoyed the character of a public-spirited citizen, but in May, 1878, we hear of his sudden disappearance. The minutes of the meetings of the Société and the French Hospital between February 25 and October 7, 1877, are missing. They were probably destroyed by Tamiet himself, who was secretary at the time, in order to suppress records unfavorable to him.

McCorkle says *L'Union* was Democratic in politics, and that it existed until March, 1880. Did it really exist as late as that? Since *L'Union Nouvelle* was its successor, with the same editor, and since the latter started in 1879, it seems unlikely that the two existed concurrently. The latest reference to *L'Union* is found in the Los Angeles *Express* of August 3, 1878, which says, "*L'Union,* the only French newspaper published here now has entered on its third year, and justly claims that it is entitled to the liberal support of the class whose interests it so ably advocates. Hereafter the subscription to the Union will be $5.00 per year, or 50 cents per month."

Frédéric François, Vicomte Cazeaux de Mondran, had been in Los Angeles for some time before his connection with *L'Union,* for Emile Marque, editor of the *Courrier de San Francisco,* quotes from a letter written to him by de Mondran in September, 1871. In it he tells of the organization on August 16 of a French Democratic club, which already has more than eighty members, and adds, "Malheureusement un grand nombre de nos compatriotes vit dans les montagnes et n'a pas encore pu se joindre à nous. . . . Les Français m'ont fait l'honneur de me nommer président du club démocratique français de Los Angeles." De Mondran was said to be an ex-captain in the French Army and to have served under the Duc d'Aumale, though his name is not listed in the records of the French military academies of St.-Cyr or Saumur. One of the old-timers of the Los Angeles French colony, who remembered him, stated that he was by far the most aristocratic and best educated Frenchman in southern California. He was tall, had a trimmed beard, and was marked by smallpox. He was always very close-mouthed about his French antecedents, and it was surmised that he had had family or political troubles in France. He was a versatile man: a Latin and Greek scholar and a fine cook and something of a chemist, for he made his own laxative pills. He was also an excellent marksman, who could shoot a cork off a bottle with a pistol at 25 feet, and he spoke fluent Spanish. For some years he lived with the Amestoy family on their ranch, known as Las Carpas ("the tents"), where he did surveying and was paid $100 a month for tutoring the children. De Mondran also tutored at the Camulos ranch, where *Ramona* was written, and one of his pupils there, Reginaldo del Valle, became Senator and Lieutenant Governor of California. He was president of the Société Mutuelle de Bienfaisance from March, 1875, to September, 1876, resigning in favor of Signoret, "étant forcé de quitter la ville."

De Mondran's absence cannot have been long, however, for in 1878 he appears as secretary of the Society after Tamiet's disappearance, and as founder of a new paper, a semi-weekly. The *Express* of May 4, 1878, notes, "A new French paper, entitled *Le Courrier de Los Angeles,* is to be established in our city, the first number appearing about May 15." It actually appeared on Tuesday evening, May 21, with the announcement, "Paraissant mardi soir et vendredi soir de chaque semaine. De Mondran et Compagnie, Editeurs-Propriétaires. F. V. C. de Mondran, Rédacteur." The price was $6.00 a year in the United States and Canada, $8.00 in foreign countries. It was published at 44 New High Street, entrance through Main Street, near the Ville de Paris. The first number had six pages. On the first is a feuilleton called "Les Nuits de la Maison Dorée," by Ponson du Terrail. Page 2 has an anonymous poem addressed to "Mlle C . . . de L . . ." and an editorial outlining the policy of the paper. Page 3 has an article, "Les Mythes et les Légendes de la Finlande." On page 4 is an article called "Les Mormons," apparently by de Mondran, opening with a long and involved sentence aiming sarcasm at the human race. The article claims that the details it gives are taken from McW. Chandler, the first European non-Mormon to visit and reside in the new territory. It says of Mormonism, "Les gens sensés ne font que rire de cette ridicule doctrine, fruit laborieux d'une cervelle à l'envers." At the end of the article is the rather un-French phrase, "A continuer." The paper has a nine-line joke and advertisements, one being of the local French Mutual Benefit Society, of which de Mondran appears as secretary. The advertising comprises about half of the contents of the paper, but there are also two shorter editorials, some foreign dispatches, legal and commercial notices, stock reports, a "chronique locale" (partly advertisements), and a "Revue de la Quinzaine."

In spite of the fact that the *Los Angeles Herald* of May 22, 1878, in mentioning receipt of the new paper, says that "it makes a most creditable appearance typographically," the printing of the first number was not good, and it contained a quantity of what must have been typographical errors, such as "éclipce," wrong accents, and even mistakes in French, one of which appears in the passage quoted below. In the editorial expressing the ideals of the paper, de Mondran says, "le journalisme est un sacerdoce," proclaims a policy of complete political independence and loyalty to the great American republic, and gives some good advice to voters. The most striking item in the issue states that the outstanding local event of the last days of April was the sudden disappearance of M. Tamiet,

> qui s'est acquis une certaine célébrité par ses hauts faits calligraphiques, une manie d'imitation, la manie des autographes. Il est parti sans tambour ni trompette, ou autrement dit, 'au son de la cloche de bois.' On assure que son propriétaire et amphitryon journalier ignorait lui-même son départ; il lui a cependant laissé, dit-on, un souvenir: une proprieté qu'il a vendue par procuration et dont il a oublié, comme de juste, de remettre le prix: que voulez-vous? il allait voyager, et en voyage l'argent fait souvent défaut. Quelques intimes seuls étaient dans le secret de cette émigration. On ignore complètement vers quel pays il a dirigé sa locomotive et porté ses pénates—il n'y aurait cependant rien d'étonnant qu'un certain protecteur puissant qui peut-être avait intérêt à l'éclipce de cette planète cartouchienne, peut donner des renseignements à cet égard, mais on ne les espère guère. Il laisse derrière lui pas mal de victimes de ses tours de passe-passe; nous les plaignons sincèrement, mais nous tâcherons de les consoler en leur disant: qu'il est préférable d'être la victime d'un escroc, que d'acquérir des propriétés à vil prix par son intermède.[57]

It would be interesting to know at whom this shaft is aimed, and who was the "puissant protecteur." One might suppose it was Joseph Mascarel, except that he is apparently the person designated as the "propriétaire et amphitryon journalier" of Tamiet, and hence among those victimized or at least deceived by him.

The feature of No. 2, May 24, is an editorial on "La France et le Conflict Européen," alluding to a threatened war between France and Russia. It blames France for taking part in the Crimean War, and says Russia has never been a direct enemy of France and that it was thanks to the Czar that France was not dismembered in 1814: "ces deux nations semblent être appelées à se donner, un jour, la main par-dessus l'empire allemand qui menace aujourd'hui l'Europe de son pouvoir militaire et de ses tendances d'agrandissement territorial." Here de Mondran foresaw the Franco-Russian alliance which fulfilled his wishes. He adds,

> La guerre de 1870 a eu néanmoins un effet salutaire sur l'esprit français; elle a été le verre d'eau qui calme le sang échauffé; elle a fait que cette surabondance de sève qui distingue la race gauloise, cet esprit belliqueux, ce chauvinisme, qui la dominaient, se sont changés en aspirations d'une nature toute différente: l'industrie, le travail.[58]

From this it will be seen that de Mondran was able to take a detached view of his own countrymen.

The *Express* of July 6, 1878, remarks, "The *Courrier de Los Angeles* of today says: 'The Workingmen will, we are assured, publish in a blacklist the names of all those who employ Chinese'," and adds, doubtless jokingly, that it feels impelled to publish a blacklist of all those who do not subscribe to the *Courrier*. De Mondran's paper received good notices and looked as if it might be headed for a promising career, but it lasted for only a few issues, and he himself seems to have vanished from public view. The suspension of the paper and de Mondran's subsequent career are shrouded in mystery. The paper must have ended soon after the reference just quoted, for on August 3 the *Express* refers to *L'Union* as the only French newspaper in Los Angeles. De Mondran did not leave town under any kind of a cloud, so far as is known, and certainly did not have the same reasons as Tamiet for dropping out of sight.

Within a year *L'Union*, too, must have ceased publication, for in May, 1879, its editor, Pierre Ganée, started *L'Union Nouvelle*. This weekly is still published, and claims never to have missed an issue. It was published originally at Room 19, Downey Block, but moved often, nearly twenty addresses being recorded; it is at present at 310 West Olympic Boulevard. It has always been a weekly, published on Saturdays. Ganée was the original editor and publisher, and remained so until his death in 1902. He is described as "a small nervous chap," "a very little man in stature but big mentally," "a very aggressive and scholarly Frenchman," and a good friend of de Mondran, though the two used to have great arguments. He was also the manager of the firm of Duc de Montebello champagne, Pacific Coast, and is reputed to have left a tidy fortune. He conducted the paper with great success, and his editorials were much relished. No earlier issue than 1888 has been located, but ten years after its foundation the paper was described as four pages, 36 by 42 inches, "circulating largely among the old French pioneers and wealthy families of that nationality in Southern California,"[59] and was said to be taken by most of the 3,500 French people there.[60] Its later history will be traced below.

The 'Eighties and 'Nineties

The 'eighties saw two new French journals established in Los Angeles, *Le Progrès* and *Le Gaulois*, the first of which brings on the scene three colorful figures. The anonymous 1889 Los Angeles county history just cited[59] states that *Le Progrès* was established in 1883 by a corporation of the same name, whose founders and stockholders were among the leading and most influential citizens of the French population, and that it measured 26 by 40 inches and had seven columns to the page. The copies now known to exist are not of this large size, being four pages of six columns each. *Le Guide Français de Los Angeles* also gives the year as 1883, and says that the paper was founded by Dr. J. B. Pigné-Dupuytren and other Frenchmen, with the financial assistance of some of the most influential citizens of the French colony, and that it was designed to be a true representative of the French population in southern California and of Los Angeles in particular. Harris Newmark also says 1883, but Lévy gives the date of establishment as October 11, 1884. Although this contradicts the three others mentioned, it seems almost certain that Lévy is right, and it may be that one of the others made a misstatement which the other two copied. The fact is that the issue of Saturday, December 22, 1888, announces itself as "Cinquième année, No. 52," which would logically indicate 1884 as the year of the paper's foundation. Its first editor is said to have been one Charruau, and he was succeeded by a man named de La Harpe, who was followed by Dr. Pigné-Dupuytren, who filled the office for only a year.

Journalism was only one of several interests of Pigné-Dupuytren, a physician with degrees from Heidelberg and Edinburgh and hospital experience at the Hôtel-Dieu in Paris. He was born in 1807, came to New York in 1845, and then went to New Orleans, returned to New York, and in 1849 was persuaded to go to San Francisco to supervise the Delmonico interests there. He made the trip on the record around-the-

Horn voyage of the clipper *Sea Witch*. For some years he led a restless life, engaging in various activities. He took an active interest in a French Mutual Benefit Society which was established for the French miners at Mokelumne Hill, and in a small French hospital at Marysville, where he is said to have run a grocery and liquor store in partnership with one Marc de Kirwan.[61] He accompanied Raousset-Boulbon on his second Mexican expedition in 1854, was with him when he was declared an outlaw, and was arrested by the Mexicans at Guaymas on June 28 but—more fortunate than the Count—was released after two days. Returning to San Francisco, he took an active part in the doings of the French colony and also practiced his profession. In the *Echo du Pacifique* of July 21, 1856, appears a letter from him denying the allegations of the *Herald* that Sterling A. Hopkins, who had been stabbed by David S. Terry, had received inadequate care in a damp, drafty room.

The doctor was president of the Ligue Nationale Française in 1874-1875, but in August of the latter year he moved to Los Angeles, where he resided for the rest of his life. He was given a farewell dinner and a present of a handsome polished oak bookcase, with a testimonial of gratitude for his work, especially for what he had done in connection with the library of the Ligue. According to *Le Guide Français de Los Angeles,* in Los Angeles he attempted to revive *L'Union* after its suspension, but the reputation it had acquired for missing issues made the task impossible. He was, as noted, one of the founders of *Le Progrès* in 1884, and later its editor for a year. He also practiced medicine and appears to have taken part in mining, real estate, and educational activities—truly a versatile man! He died in 1886, leaving thoroughly Americanized descendants.

Pigné-Dupuytren was succeeded in the editorial chair of *Le Progrès* by Georges Mesnager, who soon resigned in order to devote his full attention to his wine business. Mesnager had been in California only a few years when the war of 1870 broke out, and he at once left to fight in the French army, where he served under General Chanzy. After the war he returned to Los Angeles, but not without having made a promise that he would fight for France again if she was invaded, and this promise he kept in 1914, advancing it as an unanswerable reply to the objection of his son Louis that he was too old. He was actually sixty-four, well over military age, but he slipped away without telling anybody but Louis what he was going to do, enlisted as a private in the infantry, and was wounded five times. When he was given a leave of absence in 1916, he employed it to come back to Los Angeles only long enough to raise money for the wounded in his regiment. By the end of the war he was a lieutenant, had won three decorations and the personal congratulations of Foch, Pershing, and de Castelnau, and had the honor of leading the Alsatian veterans of 1870 into Strasbourg. Mesnager had an important wine business in Los Angeles, but eventually went back to his boyhood home in France, where he died in 1923. His son remained in California.

In the 1887 and 1888 city directories of Los Angeles, a Belgian, Charles Raskin, is listed as editor and director of *Le Progrès,* he was later publisher of *Le Gaulois.* The January 26, 1889, issue of *Le Progrès* declares, "As an advertising medium it is unequaled, as it is the property of the French colony, the stock being held in even quantities by all the representative Frenchmen. They each and all take considrable interest in its property and scan carefully all the advertisements." In 1889 and 1890 one of the editors was Félix Violé. He had been brought to Los Angeles in 1887 from Bayonne by a fellow-townsman, Pascal Ballade, who was a sheep rancher and also kept a popular French restaurant, the Hôtel des Pyrénées, on Aliso Street. The *Guide Français* refers to Félix as a young man of exceptional ability. His brother Jules followed him in 1888. Félix was educated as an engineer and Jules as a chemist. Unable to find an opening in his profession, Félix worked for Ballade; later, besides two periods as editor of *Le Progrès,* he was a ranchman in San Diego and a draftsman in the Los Angeles City Engineer's office. He died in 1925, Jules surviving him. In 1889 another editor (and the publisher) was a Basque, Jean-Pierre Goytino, whose career differed as day and night from that of his predecessor Mesnager. De Mondran's remark in 1871, quoted above, that so many of his countrymen lived in the mountains doubtless refers to the Basques, who formed a surprisingly large element of the French population of southern California, enough to support a newspaper in the Basque language *(Eskual-Herria,* owned by Goytino). They went in largely for ranching and especially for sheep-raising, and many of them were reputed to be quarrelsome and handy with their knives. As herders, they usually lived in isolated spots, and violence among them was frequent. Goytino and the later years of the paper will be discussed below.

About the end of 1887[62] Raskin founded *Le Gaulois,* a weekly styling itself a "journal hebdomadaire, politique, littéraire, commercial et industriel." Its motto was "Pro Patria Semper," and it claimed to be the "Organe des Populations de Langue Française du Sud de la Californie." It was four pages of six large columns, and sold for $2.00 a year. It was published at "Chambres 10 et 11, rue Première," and listed suscription offices not only in San Francisco, New York, Chicago, and New Orleans, but also in such unlikely places as Green Bay, Wisconsin, and Emporia, Kansas. The issue of January 3, 1889, is a good sample. Page 1 consists of a feuilleton, the play *Criquette* by Ludovic Halévy; an editorial against "le parlementarisme," signed G. B.; a "causerie médicale" by a Belgian doctor, entitled "L'éducation physique et morale de l'enfant," to be continued; a short item from *L'Événement* of Paris telling how Adelina Patti craved a decoration; a few lines on "le train continu" or "le chemin de fer qui marche," to be featured at the Paris Exposition; and advertisements, which are also to be found on the other pages, especially the last, which they share with some jokes under the heading of "Pour rire." Elsewhere are found items of local news, a report of the Société de Bienfaisance des Dames de Los Angeles, etc. Some of the advertisements are of a dubious nature, as was common in practically all journals of the period. There are testimonials, even from doctors, of marvelous cures for catarrh, one of which was accomplished after "partie de la face était mangée," by the "Liniment California Positif et Négatif Electrique," manufactured by Creasinger (also spelled Cressinger) and Co., Los Angeles.

The issue of Wednesday, January 30, 1889, is interesting because of allusions to the *Bayard* of San Francisco and its notorious editor Barra, who had attacked Raskin in his issue of September 17, 1888. There is a satire in verse called "Ode à Barra-Bas, le Galoubet Chante-Clère, le soi-disant indépendant au style vil et rampant." A news item mentions the arrest of one Mme Cavasso, said to be "un des plus puissants clients du *Bayard,*" for incest with her son; the *Bayard* called this a case of abominable persecution. Under the heading "Ephémérides de San Francisco," there is a note that "Paul Juignat," of the *Franco-Californien,* has been sentenced to six months in San Quentin for trying to blackmail Professor Larcher; it is stated that Barra employed Juignat to get criminal evidence against Larcher, but that "Juignat" wrote later he would desist if Larcher paid him $300. The name "Juignat" is apparently an error for "Juignet." The most intriguing feature of this item is its inconsistency with the fact, obvious from the columns of the *Bayard*, that Juignet was one of the chief targets of scurrilous and scornful allusions on the part of Barra; it seems strange that he would have used him against another enemy. Wednesday, September 2, 1891, is the last issue of *Le Gaulois*. Editor Raskin—who was also agent for the Compagnie Générale Transatlantique and the Red Star Line—explains that he has been called to Brussels on important business, and that those of his readers who have subscribed for the third year will receive *L'Union Nouvelle*, as he was turning over his material to its editor, Ganée. In bidding his readers farewell Raskin says that he has always avoided personal polemics, but "nous n'avons pas échappé aux haines et aux calomnies de rivaux pleins de venin. Malheureusement, dans le journalisme en Californie, les polémiques personnelles sont devenues presqu'une habitude." The worst offender toward Raskin was Goytino, and Raskin's final comment on him will be quoted below.

The suspension of *Le Gaulois* left *L'Union Nouvelle* and *Le Progrès* the only two French journals in southern California. The Los Angeles city directory of 1891 lists a bi-weekly called *Le Progrès Californien*, published at 205 New High Street, but it is not listed in subsequent directories. No proprietor or editor is named, and no further information has been found about it. Although *L'Union Nouvelle* had been in existence over a decade, the earliest number that has been located is September 15, 1888. This has four pages of eight columns each. In June 1892 the paper changed to eight pages of five columns, and some time between then and 1895 the columns were increased to six. In 1897 it had six pages, which is still the case. The early numbers were much like *Le Courrier de Los Angeles* in make-up, but contained more news. *L'Union Nouvelle* styled itself "Organe de la Population française du Sud de la Californie," and claimed to be "the ONLY French newspaper in Southern California endorsed by the Consul, having by far the largest circulation." The statement about consular endorsement ceased to appear after February 16, 1895. The issue of October 3, 1896, states that since its foundation the paper has always supported the Democratic party, "en communauté de sentiments du reste sous ce rapport avec la grande majorité des Français du sud de la Californie," the Democratic party having always been "plus sympathique et plus ouvert aux étrangers . . ., plus disposé à entrer en relations avec nous socialement et politiquement." But now, disgusted at Cleveland's free trade policy and Bryan's refusal to discuss the tariff, it espouses the Republican cause. The contents of the issue were of the usual sort: a feuilleton, foreign dispatches, local news, special articles, anecdotes and jokes, and advertising. Editorials did not appear in every issue. During Ganée's editorship *L'Union Nouvelle* was marked by certain strong prejudices. It was very anti-British, and seemed obsessed with the likelihood of the world's being dominated by the Anglo-Saxon races, i.e., Great Britain and the United States. It was rabid on the subject of Dreyfus. An article of October 16, 1897, refers to him as "le traître," and ends by saying that he is "à l'île de [sic] Diable: il y restera!" On December 11 of the same year, its "bulletin politique" on the front page, discussing claims made of Dreyfus's innocence, declares, "I'affaire est enterrée," and adds that it hopes not to have to refer to the traitor again except to announce the and of his "misérable vie dans l'île du Diable." It called the defense of Dreyfus "cette ignoble cause." The editor had to eat his words, however, for on June 10, 1898, he admits that while always having firmly believed in Dreyfus's guilt, now, after the judgment of the Cour de Cassation, he must concede that his innocence is at least probable.

Ganée was equally mistaken in connection with the Spanish-American War. Like so many of his compatriots and other foreigners, he grossly underestimated the quality of the American Navy and overestimated that of the Spanish. *L'Union Nouvelle* contains no description of the *Maine* disaster. On February 26, 1898, it proclaims its assurance that whatever the cause may be determined to have been, the United States has no thought of the possibility of a war with Spain. On March 5 it expresses the opinion that the American Navy is "sensiblement" inferior to the Spanish in the number and the quality of its sailors. By March 12 the paper believes that the American government *is* preparing for war, and that such a war will be long and terrible; that the United States will be in the wrong, and that but for the Americans, Cuba could have been "pacified" long ago. But on April 2, with war imminent, it wisely urges all Frenchmen naturalized as Americans to rally to the support of this country, and non-naturalized French to preserve at least a strict neutrality. On July 16 it blames the poor showing of the Spanish forces on the Spanish clergy, which to maintain its domination has kept the people in abject ignorance, but on August 27 it shifts the blame to the Spanish monarchy, "l'auteur véritable de la défaite actuelle de l'Espagne." On July 16 it discusses the disaster of the French Line steamer *La Bourgogne* and defends the conduct of the officers and crew, which had been severely criticized by most of the press, in connection with which much stress had been laid on the fact that among the surviving passengers there was only one woman.

During the later part of 1897 and until January 8, 1898, *L'Union Nouvelle* carried some long front-page articles titled "Chronique de M. Emile Marque," signed by that well-known San Francisco journalist. A good deal of the series is devoted to food scandals and graft in connection with the French Hospital in San Francisco and to polemics with P. A. Bergerot. Replying to an accusation by the latter that Marque did not have the courage of his convictions (an accusation previously made by Barra), Marque retorts: "Depuis bientôt trente ans que je fais du journalisme en Californie, j'ai toujours combattu à visage découvert. . . . M. Bergerot est-il bien sûr de pouvoir en dire autant?" In a later issue he cites an instance of "suffisance" and "outrecuidante vanité" on the part of Bergerot, from which it appears that Marque himself was ignorant of the fact that it is not permissible to fly a foreign flag above the American colors on United States territory. Bergerot, who was born in this country, had said that all the French living here should become naturalized Americans; many people are therefore surprised, says Marque, at his insistance "à vouloir présider des manifestations exclusivement françaises."

In the early 'nineties, as has been noted, the editor of *Le Progrès* was Jean-Pierre Goytino. From contemporary records, he seems to have been an outstanding example of the worst traits of the Basques, but in spite of his very unsavory record in two countries, he was much feared and was rumored to have powerful connections. He came to the United States from Mexico, and was said to have originally studied for the priesthood. Editor Raskin of *Le Gaulois*, in his farewell message to his readers in 1891, assailed him in the following terms:

> Un malheureux et misérable vagabond, nommons-le, J-P. Goytino, ci-devant pensionnaire de la prison du comté de Los Angeles, a particulièrement pris à tâche de nous vilipender. Nous savons pertinemment qu'il a appartenu en France, pendant trois ans, à la congrégation des Frères ignorantins, sous le nom de *Frère Lupulus*, et qu'il s'y est rendu coupable d'une série de crimes contre nature. Forcé de quitter la France par suite de ces méfaits—et aussi par suite des actes d'escroquerie et de faux commis au préjudice de son oncle, M. Bernard Etcheverry, il a échoué en Californie. Tout le monde sait qu'il ne doit qu'à la mort accidentelle de son cousin Léonis, de ne pas occuper aujourd'hui une cellule dans la prison d'État à San Quentin. C'est par suite de sa mise en liberté toute fortuite qu'il est devenu éditeur du *Progrès!* Nos lecteurs savent ce qu'il y a accompli.[63]

Goytino had previously tried bookkeeping and conducting a class in French, and shortly after the failure of a "Café Parisien," of which he and one Joseph Amelineau were the proprietors, he forged and passed a note of $3,800 in the name of his cousin Léonis, actually a cousin of his mother and called by him "uncle." Léonis was ill and apparently about to die at the time of the forgery, but had Goytino arrested. Besides this, Goytino was reputed to have protected Basque murderers on several occasions and helped them to escape in return for cash. In 1894 he retired from *Le Progrès* to apply himself to his "étude de notaire" and his Basque journal, *Eskual-Herria* (Basque Country). Serving with or after him in the editorship was Jean Trébaol; but, following a quarrel with Goytino, he soon left to found *Le Français*, under which he will be discussed. A few years later Mme Trébaol objected to the appointment of Goytino as guardian of her minor brother (whose mother could not qualify because she did not speak English), and Goytino's wife, who was Mascarel's daughter and half-Indian, tried to whip her in the county court house, but failed to do any damage. When arrested for assault and battery she proved that she had paid her fine for it in advance. A curious way of administering the law, and as late as 1899! Nothing is definitely known about the date or manner of Goytino's death. It was rumored that he committed suicide when about to be criminally prosecuted in the federal courts.

After Goytino and Trébaol, Violé became, in 1896, editor for the second time. The paper was then being published by a directors' committee. *Le Progrès* seems at various times to have been a semi-weekly, a bi-weekly, and a weekly, mostly the last. It sold at 10 cents a copy, $3.00 a year. Its politics show some disconcerting variations. During an uncertain period up to July 6, 1892, it calls itself "journal hebdomadaire indépendant," but on July 13 of that year "indépendant" becomes "républicain," with a sub-heading, "The only Republican newspaper published in the French language on the Pacific Coast"; and on November 8 a special edition advocates the blessings of a protective tariff, "malgré l'opposition injuste des démocrates." It had already espoused the Republican cause before making the change of sub-head. On December 15, 1892, it suddenly abandons its Republicanism and again is a "hebdomadaire indépendant"; it has the same editor and manager[64] as before, and no explanation is given for the shift. It was confident of Republican success in the presidential election, and the change to "indépendant" immediately followed the victory of Cleveland. On this date it also changed its day of publication (originally Saturday) from Wednesday to Thursday. Apparently the paper had an anti-Semitic bias, for a time at least, for in 1892 there are allusions now and then to "youtres," and the issue of August 3 of that year says that "Ravachol," a bomb-throwing anarchist, was really a "youtre bavarois" named Koenigstein. During that year *Le Progrès* declared itself, in capital letters, to be "the oldest and leading organ of the French-speaking population," and the only French newspaper in southern California endorsed by the consul—"de la Palestine." This last seems to be a sarcastic fling at its rival, *L'Union Nouvelle*, for its claim of endorsement by the French consul. The claim to superior age is patently false, since *L'Union Nouvelle* had been founded at least five years before *Le Progrès*. A very curious advertisement, apparently genuine, appears in the issue of November 23, 1892, for a spanking machine called "la fessade," said to have been invented by a collaborator of *Le Progrès* and to be on sale at the office. An illustration shows a small boy struggling vainly in the grip of the machine while a paddle descends upon his backside. It could be regulated to give ten to one hundred spanks. The motive power is not indicated. On April 26, 1894, the price of the paper was reduced to 5 cents. On October 17, 1896, the first issue of Violé's second editorship, the paper still declares itself independent, but features the Democratic ticket prominently. *Le Progrès* seems to have ceased publication some time in 1897, reason unknown.

Some time in 1895 a semi-weekly called *La Concorde* was published at 105 East First Street, Los Angeles, by a Mrs. L. Pavlides, a Parisian whose husband was a Greek physician. They moved away from the city, which was probably the reason for the discontinuance of the paper, of which no copies have been found.

After a quarrel in which he claimed that Goytino had solicited campaign funds for a municipal election, forged Trébaol's name to receipts, and pocketed the money himself, Jean Trébaol left *Le Progrès* and founded a weekly, *Le Français.* Although he had been thinking of the move for some time, it was made suddenly, and the first issue appeared on Saturday, October 3, 1896, without any advance notice. Trébaol himself, the owner and editor, if we are to take his word for it, did not know much in advance that the paper was to come into existence, for in this initial number he says, "Quand nous publiions la semaine dernière le dernier numéro du Progrès qui aura porté notre nom, nous nous attendions bien peu à publier un nouveau journal cette semaine." It would take more time than he has, to say why he left *Le Progrès* so suddenly, and "d'ailleurs, c'est là une affaire absolument personnelle et qui n'a en réalité aucun intérêt." Trébaol came, or rather was brought, to Los Angeles in 1893, and the manner of his coming throws a strange light on what happened to a great many other French emigrants of the period. It was arranged through the intermediary of one Baron de Rogniat, a baron of the Empire, who had a fine house in Los Angeles but was then living in Paris. He was the head of an agency there known as the Société Française, 71 rue de Grenelle, with an organ called *Le Franco-Américain.* Its letterhead said:

> La Société traite toute question relative à l'Exposition de Chicago, où elle a un agent général. Relations à New York. Renseignements, recherches de toute nature pour l'Amérique du Nord. Facilite l'établissement au Canada, au Texas, en Californie où elle possède correspondants sérieux, de toute personne ayant petit avoir, désirant apprendre l'agriculture du pays ou s'y installer à son compte.[65]

Actually, this society was an efficient swindling agency. The Baron induced French people to go to Los Angeles with representations that they could, figuratively speaking, pick up gold in the streets. He sold them what purported to be first-class railroad tickets but were really tickets on emigrant trains, and pocketed the difference. Eventually, after two young men whom he had enticed to California died of starvation in San Francisco, the French consul there took up the matter and the Baron got five years in prison in Paris. Trébaol was from Brest. His father was a farmer and he had thought of being a priest, then a lawyer. For a while he was with the Commissariat de la Marine. His wife-to-be, also from Brest, and her mother, having arranged with de Rogniat's agency to go to southern California (where, incidentally, she had been told by one of the agents, the French inhabitants were by no means the cream of the nation), Trébaol accompanied them on the boat and the emigrant train. They were married in 1894.

Trébaol advertised *Le Français*, in English, as "the only French newspaper in Southern California established, owned and published by a Frenchman." It styled itself "journal indépendant," and sold for 5 cents a copy. It originally had four pages of six columns each, laid out horizontally; in August, 1898, it increased its page length two inches and shifted to four vertical columns to the page. On July 6, 1899, it enlarged to six columns. Originally published on Saturday, the paper changed to Wednesday in June, 1897, but in 1899 we find it back to Saturday. The printing was in general conspicuously bad. Trébaol sounds anti-Republican from his comments on McKinley's election. He was also anti-Dreyfus and anti-Zola, and made very little concealment of his Spanish sympathies in the war between Spain and the United States. On January 26, 1898, he ridiculed Zola for daring to try to make the French people think that "le traître Dreyfus est un martyre" [sic] and adds, "Zola, dans sa carrière, a contrefait la vérité si souvent, que le vieux misérable en a perdu le sentiment." On February 23 he returned to the attack with a blast at "le parti-pris coupable de ces gens qui ont voulu exploiter Dreyfus dans un but de réclame politique éhontée. Zola sera justement condamné par un jury de ses pairs." Elsewhere he calls him "fou," which, if true, would seem to invalidate the sentence just quoted. On September 7, 1898, the paper announces that it will begin to publish a portrait of a prominent person on its front page. The first to be so honored was Czar Nicholas, who had recently proposed disarmament. Only two more appeared: Henry T. Gage, the next governor of California, and Jules Cambon. About this time the paper began to carry warning notices to the effect that nobody but Jean Trébaol might collect money for *Le Français,* that there were but two French papers in Los Angeles, and that the *Français* was the only one entitled to style itself the official paper of the French Society: "Any statement at variance with the above is a fraud." At this time the paper was listed as being published at 208 No. Spring Street, Bresino and Trébaol, publishers and proprietors. On March 3, 1900, it announced removal to larger quarters on Commercial Street, but soon it was absorbed by *L'Union Nouvelle,* and Trébaol turned from journalism to teaching.

He taught at the Los Angeles High School, at the Ebell Club in Pasadena, at the night school of Polytechnic High, and privately. In 1914 he tried to enlist for the war, but was refused because he was forty-six years old and had thirteen children living. After a stage of working at the Agence Consulaire in Los Angeles, he went to San Francisco in 1917, and obtained a post at Mare Island to teach sailors, in connection with which he published a small textbook. His final disappearance was more mysterious than those of Tamiet or de Mondran. The *Echo de l'Ouest* of June 13, 1919, carried his picture with an unsigned article headed "Avis. Disparition d'un de nos compatriotes." The article said that Trébaol, "professeur de français à la YMCA de Vallejo," had been missing since May 31st. He had stopped at the office of the *Echo* on that day, had appeared very depressed, and had said that he needed a complete rest; "nous l'avions trouvé dans un état très énervé; il n'était plus le même homme que nous avions connu." He was never seen again, and all of Mme Trébaol's efforts to trace him, for which purpose she came from Los Angeles, were in vain. One of his colleagues said, "Il a été question de noyade," and the conclusion was that he had met his death, either accidentally or—in view of his depressed condition—possibly by suicide. Ironically tragic was the fact that he had just been appointed teacher of French in the Vallejo schools, but never knew it. Mascarel offered Mme Trébaol a house of prostitution as a good source of revenue after her husband's disappearance, but she declined, especially as she would have had to live in it herself!

The Twentieth Century

With the start of the twentieth century *L'Union Nouvelle* was the only French journal in southern California, having just absorbed *Le Français*. Pierre Ganée was still the editor, but he died in 1902. After his death the paper was published by Jacquard Auclair, who sold it in 1904 to Adrien Davoust. The latter was the son of a Parisian who had originally tried his luck at mining gold in northern California, but had soon moved to Los Angeles, where he had become a prominent member of the French colony. The son had been Ganée's assistant on the paper for a number of years. He was one of three partners in the International Publishing Co., printers. This was apparently the firm soon afterwards listed as L'Union Nouvelle Publishing Co., in which Théodore Gyger was one of the partners. Marcellin Eyraud and Antoine Pellissier were others connected with the publishing and editing of the paper.

In 1902 or early 1903 *L'Avenir*, a tri-weekly, appeared. It was published by the French Publishing Co. at 211 Aliso Street, under the management of Théodore Gyger, who, according to *L'Union Nouvelle*, was the main factor that kept the paper going. It was independent in politics. The editor was Amaury Mars, a native of Luxembourg, who divided his career between northern and southern California. In San Francisco he had edited Bergerot's short-lived venture *La France* (and sued the owners after it failed), and in Los Angeles he had been on the staff of *Le Progrès*. He wrote a book called *Les Pyrénées et la Californie*, published in San Francisco in 1898 and dedicated to Louis Barthou, then deputy from Basses-Pyrénées. It has quite a literary turn, is well illustrated, and gives an impartial appraisal of the French in California and the native Californians and Americans. Even at that late date it mentions the fact that the French are less inclined to learn English and Americanize themselves than are the Germans. In 1901 Mars' *Reminiscences of the Santa Clara Valley and San José, with the Souvenir of the Carnival of Roses* was published by the Artistic Book Company, of which he was manager. The English translation was made by Martha B. Straus. The carnival was held in honor of a visit by President McKinley to Santa Clara County, May 13-15, 1901; when he was about to return to Washington on May 25, a souvenir album of the visit was presented to him in a redwood box at Oakland Pier by Mars on behalf of the

Executive Committee of the Carnival of Roses. This second book contains a number of photographs and drawings, as well as a portrait of Mars himself, in which he appears as a rather striking-looking man with an impressive moustache. *L'Avenir* eventually became a weekly. In 1905 and 1906 the place of publication is listed at 208 No. Spring Street, Temple Building. In an *International Directory of Los Angeles* for 1906-7, published by the International Publishing Co., it is listed at this address with Mars and Pierre Prévotière as editors, and the title is given as *L'Avenir du Sud de la Californie.*

On June 1, 1907, the editors of *L'Union Nouvelle,* with a play on words, announced that

> Désireux de vivre en *Union Nouvelle* et confiants en l'*Avenir,* nos deux organes français viennent de fusionner. . . . Les deux directeurs responsables sont: M. A. Davoust, qui depuis plus de dix-huit ans appartient à l'*Union Nouvelle.* Fils de ses oeuvres, tout le monde le connaît et l'estime. Il le mérite. C'est un travailleur laborieux qui fut le collaborateur dévoué de MM. Ganée et Auclair. . . . M. Théodore Gyger est un typographe intelligent qui s'est attaché avec dévouement au journal *L'Avenir,* qu'il aida à sortir des limbes, et dont le sort dépendait entièrement de lui. . . . Les deux romans en cours seront continués par moitié sur la même page du nouveau journal.[66]

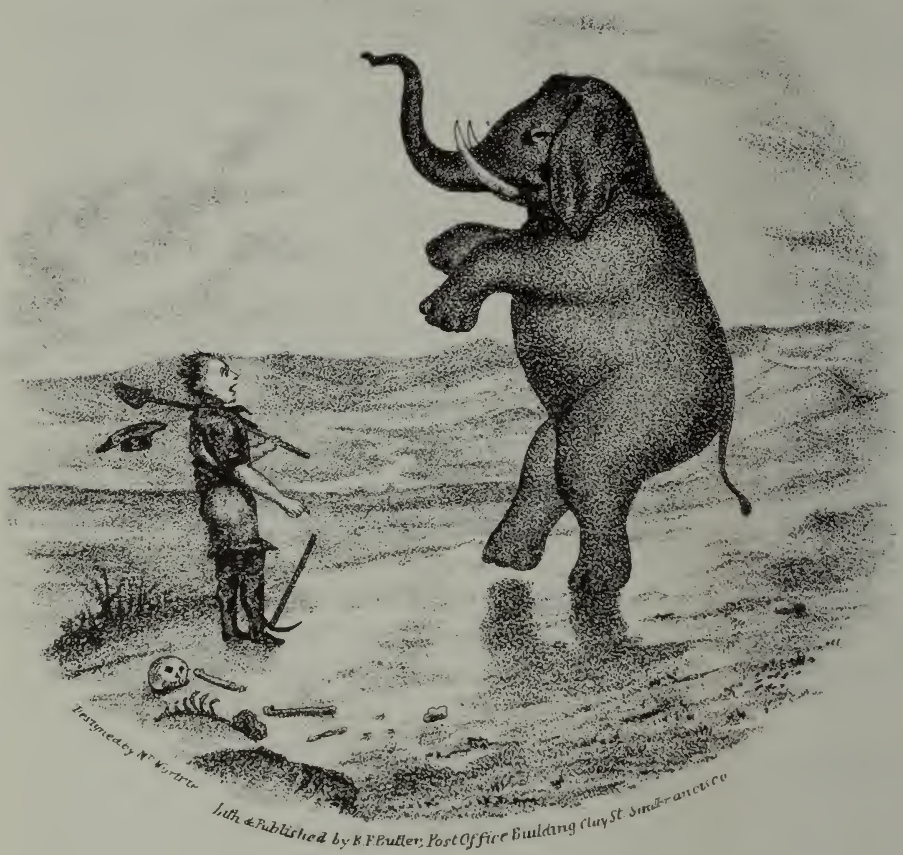
Davoust, who died in 1951, seems to have sold his interest to Gyger, who in turn sold the paper in 1914 to Maurice Fog, a Frenchman who had come to California in 1907 and who had acquired American citizenship. Fog has owned and edited *L'Union Nouvelle* ever since, and for a long time now it has proclaimed itself independent in politics. Since the days of Goytino Los Angeles French journalism has sailed mostly on an unruffled sea. Only two new journals have appeared since *L'Union Nouvelle* absorbed *L'Avenir,* and one of them was a magazine rather than a newspaper.

A. L. Tournoux founded on October 17, 1917, a weekly paper, *Le Courrier Français.* It was published on Fridays by the Courrier Français Publishing Co., A. Thomasset, president. Tournoux and Théodore Gyger were among the editors, who also included, at different times, H. Biederman and Prosper Willaume. The paper called itself an "independent, progressive weekly newspaper of the French, French-Canadian, Belgian and Swiss Colonies, and also the French reading public in Los Angeles." At the top of the editorial page is carried a quotation:

> Ce n'est pas en exploitant les antagonismes, les divisions, les haines, les rancunes inhérentes, à toutes les luttes politiques, mais en faisant appel à la concorde, à l'union, à la solidarité, que les expatriés viendront à bout des difficultés qui les assaillent de toutes parts—Voix de France.[67]

The paper was about 17 by 21¾ inches, with eight pages of seven columns each. The front page was devoted exclusively to news, mostly foreign. Further news, including a "chronique locale," as well as a feuilleton, an editorial, and notices, filled the other pages. Although advertising is found on every page except 1 and 4 (the editorial page) it is not overwhelming in volume. The 1927 edition of the Los Angeles city directory lists the price at $2.00 a year and the offices at 139 No. Broadway; in 1938 the price was $3.00 a year, 10 cents a copy, and the offices were at 723 Castelar Street. One of the news items in the issue of May 13, 1938, is an account of the banquet of the French honor society Pi Delta Phi at UCLA on the occasion of the initiation of thirteen new members. It begins, "Nous croyons bien faire de ne pas laisser passer une seule occasion favorable qui se manifeste en faveur d'une meilleure compréhension franco-américaine." *Le Courrier Français* merged with the semi-weekly *Courrier du Pacifique* of San Francisco in January, 1939.

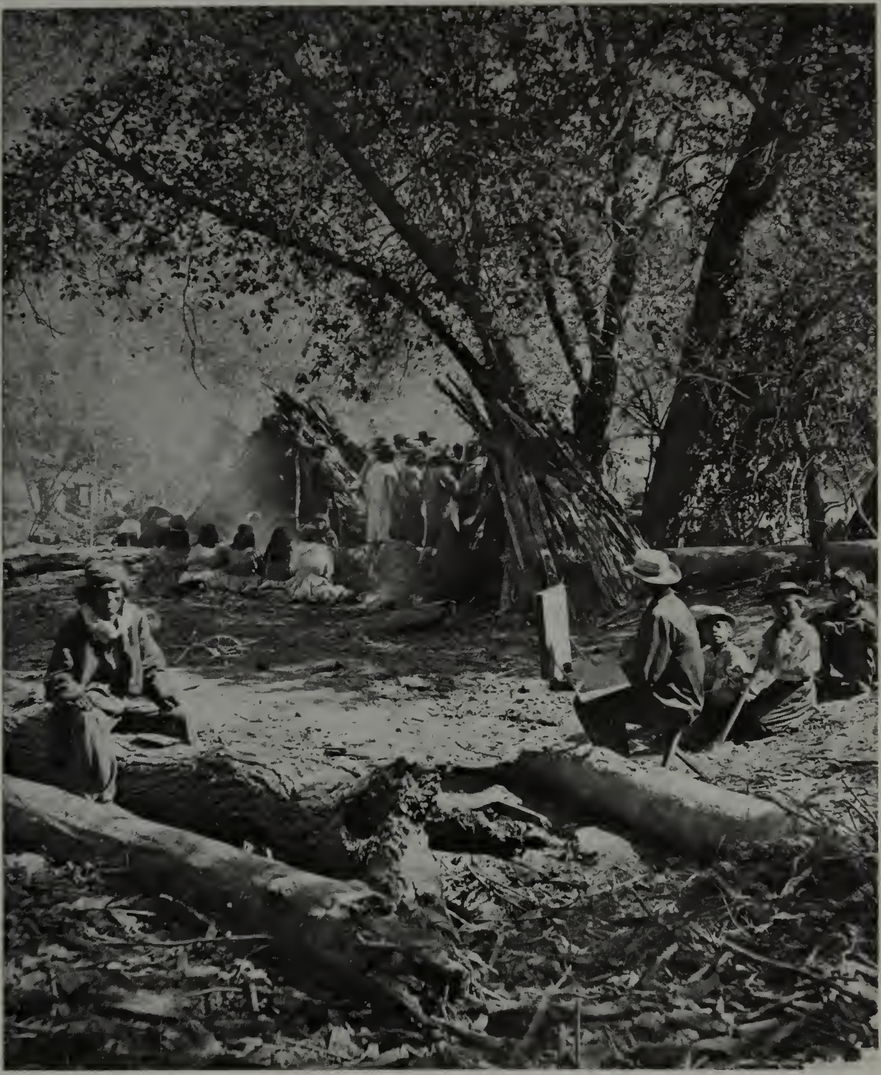
In December, 1930, an attractively presented monthly magazine, *L'Echo des Etats-Unis*, was initiated in Los Angeles by H. Biederman and John Castera, who besides being printers were notaries, insurance brokers, and steamship agents, at 117 No. Broadway. Biederman had come to New York at the age of 21 from Neuchâtel, Switzerland, and worked there for several years with the *Courrier des Etats-Unis*. He moved to Los Angeles in 1926. He was an editor of the *Courrier Français* during three different periods, and afterwards represented the *Courrier du Pacifique* and the *Courrier Français des Etats-Unis* in Los Angeles. Castera was born in San Francisco of French parents. He was active in the Los Angeles French colony, being at one time president of the local French Hospital. He died in 1937 at the age of 68. In the announcement accompanying the first issue, the publishers promised their readers articles of artistic, scientific, literary, sporting, etc., interest, of a sort that would not appear in daily or weekly journals; they also said they would endeavor to give "le suc des meilleurs périodiques


Designed by Mr Wortre
Lith & Published by B.F. Butler, Post Office Building Clay St. San Francisco

Miner, *Wall, how der du? put down your trunk*
Your journey makes you puff
You've travelled hard, I like your spunk.
Say! have you been up t'the "Bluff"?
Elephant, *I reckon, yes,—have you?*
Miner; *"Yes Sir-ee" I've been there tu,*
Elephant, *What saw you there? No Gold I swear!*
To get it from the Sand; you can't.
Miner; *I saw one chap when you was there,*
Elephant, *Who?*
Miner; *I saw the "***ELEPHANT***."*

[Letter sheet]

A recent acquisition to the Society's collection.



A recent purchase for the Society's Library.
A photograph by Eadward Muybridge, published by Bradley and Rulofson.
It is entitled "ALBERT BIERSTADT'S STUDIO" and shows the artist painting in the open air.

français." There would be a brief monthly review of important French books, and a department called "Echos et Variétés," which would be useful to teachers of French in their class work. Under the heading of "D'un mois à l'autre" would be a summary of the social activities of French language groups and colonies in the United States. This ambitious program had a far wider than local scope. "D'un mois à l'autre," which was in reality confined to French social activities in California, and "Echos et Variétés," composed mostly of jokes, did not continue, but the magazine's contents were always interesting and it was well printed. The format was 9 by 12 inches, running from about 16 to 24 pages an issue. The price was 10 cents a copy, $1.00 a year. Prosper Willaume, who sometimes used the pseudonym Paul Beaumont, and who was a native of Nancy, was the first editor, but only for three months. Roger Lacor replaced him. In 1931 the magazine was awarded a "diplôme de grand prix" at the Colonial Exposition in Paris, but it was an expensive venture and succumbed to the depression, the final issue being that of February, 1932.

Le Courrier Français having lost its identity in 1939, for twenty years now *L'Union Nouvelle* has been the sole representative of the French language press in southern California. It also has the distinction of being the oldest French journal continuously published under one name on the Pacific coast of the United States. The circumstances which have made it possible for only one French newspaper, and that a weekly, to survive in San Francisco have prevailed equally, if not to an even greater extent, in Los Angeles. In 1954 Raoul Bertrand, Consul General of France in Los Angeles, said in a letter to the author,

> Actuellement, le nombre des Français connus de ce Consulat se situe aux alentours de 2,000 pour l'ensemble de la circonscription, le nombre réel des résidents atteignant sans doute 3,500 ou peut-être davantage, dont la plupart dans la Californie du Sud. Les chiffres ci-dessus comprennent les Français et également les personnes possédant la double nationalité. Dans ce premier groupe les naturalisations sont fréquentes mais n'entraînent pas, il s'en faut de beaucoup, une américanisation. A ces chiffres, il faut ajouter les personnes de nationalité américaine mais d'origine française (naturalisés ou enfants de naturalisés). D'après les statistiques officielles il s'en trouve environ 12,000 dans le comté de Los Angeles. Ce dernier groupe (enfants de naturalisés) ne possède plus en général que des liens sentimentaux très lâches, ou pratiquement inexistants, avec la France. Beaucoup ne parlent que très mal français ou plus du tout; même pour ceux qui parlent

encore assez correctement notre langue, l'anglais reste quand même la langue maternelle. Ce n'est que pour un nombre très réduit que le français reste langue de culture. Les nouveaux arrivants sont relativement peu nombreux. Parmi ceux-ci, certains, qui pensaient s'établir, retournent en France définitivement quelques années plus tard.[68]

This process is natural and inevitable. It may eventually result, as one of the earlier French editors said it should, in the complete elimination of foreign language journals.

ALPHABETICAL LIST OF JOURNALS AND LOCATIONS OF COPIES[69]

L'Alouette. San Francisco. Weekly. Oct. 18, 1869. No copies located.

L'Avenir. Los Angeles. Tri-weekly; weekly. 1902 or 1903-June 1, 1907. No copies located.

L'Avenir National. San Francisco. Weekly. 1871. No copies located.

Le Bayard. San Francisco. Semi-weekly; daily. Jan. 24, 1888-April 27, 1889; Nov. 6, 1890. Bancroft Library, complete. California Historical Society, complete to April 27, 1889. Huntington Library, complete to March 25, 1889.

Bibliòtheque Populaire. San Francisco. Weekly. 1856-1860(?). No copies located.

Le Blagueur. San Francisco. 1915(?). No copies located.

Le Bulletin (originally called *Le Sociétaire*). San Francisco. Monthly. Nov. 1938-June 1943. Messrs. Carle (publishers), complete.

Le Californien. San Francisco. Jan. 21, 1850. New-York Historical Society, Jan. 31, 1850.

Les Californiennes. Not a separate publication; see page 148.

Le Cancan. Not certainly a separate publication; see page 149.

Le Chat Noir. San Francisco. Weekly. Nov. 14-Dec. 5, 1925. Messrs. Carle, complete.

La Clameur Publique. Not a separate publication.

Le Colibri. San Francisco. Semi-weekly. Ca. May 14, 1855. Prefecture of Police, Paris, parts of three numbers. Bancroft Library, microfilm of the above.

La Concorde. Los Angeles. Semi-weekly. 1895. No copies located.

Le Courrier de Californie. San Francisco. Daily. 1863. No copies located.

Le Courrier d'Europe. San Francisco. Weekly. April, 1853. No copies located.

Le Courrier de Los Angeles. Los Angeles. Semi-weekly. May 21, 1878. Los Angeles County Museum, May 21, 1878. Kansas State Historical Society, May 24, 1878. Huntington Library, May 24, 1878.

Le Courrier de San Francisco. San Francisco. Daily except Mondays; also weekly edition, steamer edition, etc. April 30(?), 1865.[70] Merged with *Le Franco-Californien*, 1886(?). Bancroft Library, Feb. 7, July 2, 3, 10, 1867; April 23, July 1 to Aug. 31, 1868; Sept. 2, 1869 to April 24, 1872; July 10, 1874; Dec. 7, 1875; June 15, 1876; Nov. 26, 1882. National City, California, Public Library, Nov. 13 and 14, 1868.

Le Courrier des Amériques. San Francisco. Daily. June 17, 1861. No copies located.

Le Courrier du Pacifique. San Francisco. Daily; semi-weekly; weekly. Jan. 1, 1927-date. Name changed to *Courrier Français des Etats-Unis*, Oct. 1, 1946. Midwest Inter-Library Center, Chicago, complete. California Historical Society, Feb. 1, 1872; Aug. 23, 1874, Dec. 5, 1877; May 28, 1881; Oct. 1, 1940-Dec. 31, 1945; July 9, 1952. University of California, Berkeley, Jan. 1, 1927 to Sept. 13, 1931; Sept. 19, Oct. 9, Oct. 11, 1931 to Nov. 19, 1946; Dec. 13, 1946; Jan. 14, 21-24, April 18 to May 20, 1947; May 27, 1947 to date. Publisher, 1907 to date.

Le Courrier Français. Los Angeles. Weekly. Oct. 17, 1917-Jan. 1939. University of California, Berkeley, March 17, 1923; May 13, 1938. California Historical Society, March 10, 1928.

Courrier Français des Etats-Unis, see *Courrier du Pacifique*.

Les Dominicales. Not certainly a separate publication; see page 149.

L'Echo de l'Ouest. San Francisco. Weekly; daily. March 30, 1909-Dec. 31, 1926. Succeeded by *Le Courrier du Pacifique*. California Historical Society, 1909 to 1921. University of California, Berkeley, July 24-Nov. 30, 1914; Dec. 31, 1914 to Dec. 31, 1926, not complete. Midwest Inter-Library Center, Chicago, Sept. 1917 to 1926.

L'Echo de Notre-Dame des Victoires. San Francisco. Monthly; semi-monthly. March, 1901-1906. Parish house, Notre-Dame des Victoires, 1901. California historical Society, 1901-1902 and 1903-1906, nearly complete.

L'Echo des Etats-Unis. Los Angeles. Monthly. Dec. 1930-Feb. 1932. University of California, Berkeley, Dec. 1930, Dec. 1931, Feb. 1932.

L'Echo du Pacifique. San Francisco. Tri-weekly; weekly. June 1, 1852-April, 1865. Succeeded by *Le Courrier de San Francisco*. Prefecture of Police, Paris, July 14, 1852; Jan. 12 (fragment), May 18 (two pages), 1853; Oct. 15, 1854 (part); Aug. 18, Nov. 20, Dec. 20, 1855. Bancroft Library, microfilm of the above. Huntington Library, Aug. 7, 1852; March 23, 1864. New-York Historical Society, March 13-30, 1853; Oct. 1, 1854; April 6, 1857. California State Library, June 10, 12, 1853; Feb. 22, Nov. 1, 1854; April 29, July 12, 1856. George L. Harding (Palo Alto), Sept. 16, 1853; Dec. 5, 1855. Dr. Raoul Blanquie (Oakland), Nov. 28, 1855. Library of Congress, July 5, 1856. Provincial Library of British Columbia, Jan. 20, 1858. California Historical Society, Oct. 1, 1854 (microfilm); Aug. 7, 1862.

L'Etoile des Pauvres et des Souffrants. St. Helena; Cloverdale. Monthly; irregular. Jan. 1, 1881-Oct. 24, 1883. Bancroft Library, Jan. 1, 1881-Oct. 24, 1883, lacking Nos. 3, 6, 14 and 16. Huntington Library, microfilm of the above. Prof. Gilbert Chinard (Princeton), Aug. 1, 1881 to Oct. 24, 1883, lacking Feb.

1882.[71] Bibliothèque Historique de la Ville de Paris, microfilm of the above. California Historical Society, Feb. 1, 1881; Jan. 1, Feb. 1, Dec. 1, 1882; April 1, May 1, July 1, Aug. 10, Oct. 24, 1883.

Le Français. San Francisco. Tri-weekly. 1854 or 1855. No copies located.

Le Français (II). Los Angeles. Weekly. Oct. 3, 1896-1900. Los Angeles County Museum, Oct.-Dec. 1896; Jan.-May, June 5, 30, July 7-14, 28, Aug., Sept. 8-22, Oct. 6-20, Nov. 24, Dec., 1897; Jan., Feb. 9-23, March 2, 16-May 4, May 18-July 20, Aug. 3-10, 24-Sept. 21, Oct.-Dec., 1898; Jan. 4, 18-25, Feb., March. 8-May 24, June 7, June 24-Aug. 12, Aug. 26-Oct. 28, Nov. 11-Dec., 1899; Jan. 6-13, Feb. 3-17, March 3, 1900.

La France. San Francisco. Daily. March 22, 1899. P. A. Bergerot Estate (San Francisco), April 10, 1899.

La France d'Aujourd'hui. San Francisco. Monthly. May 1936-July 1939. University of California, Berkeley, Nov. 1936; Feb. 1937-July 1938; Oct.-Nov. 1938; Jan.-July 1939.

Le Franco-Américain, see *L'Union Franco-Américaine.*

Le Franco-Californien. San Francisco. Daily. Oct. 1886-1926. Successor to *Le Petit Journal;* succeeded by *Le Courrier du Pacifique.* P. A. Bergerot Estate (San Francisco), July 14, 16, 1893; Aug. 29, 1897; July 16, 1902; April 6, 1906; Aug. 17, 1919. California Historical Society, 1907 to 1921. University of California, Berkeley, July 17, 1908; Feb. 6-7, April 11, 20, May 21, 29, June 1-2, 19-20, 22-23, July 1, 4, 17, 30, Aug. 10, Oct. 9, 16, 24, Nov. 2, 17, Dec. 1-2, 9, 23-25, 27-31, and undated Panama-Pacific souvenir number, 1915; Jan. 3, 5-6, 9, 15, 23, 27, 29, Feb. 2-6, 13, 19-20, March 4-5, 12, 18, 26, April 14-16, 21, May 6, 13, 21, 24, 27, June 4, 1916. Midwest Inter-Library Center Chicago, Dec. 17, 1917 to Dec. 31, 1926.

Le Gaulois. Los Angeles. Weekly. 1888(?)-Sept. 2, 1891. Kansas State Historical Society, Jan. 23, Feb. 13, 1889; Sept. 2, 1891.

Gazette Française de l'Ouest Américain. San Francisco. Monthly. May 1950-April 1952. Seen by writer at time of publication; no copies located now.

Gazette Républicaine. San Francisco. Tri-weekly. Sept. 12-23, 1850. No copies located.

L'Impartial Californien. San Francisco. Weekly. Jan. 30, 1897. California Historical Society, first two years complete. Bancroft Library, July 8, 1899. P. A. Bergerot Estate (San Francisco), April 9, 1906.

L'Indépendant. San Francisco. Weekly. May 3, 1865. Bancroft Library, May 3, 1865.

L'Indépendant (II). San Francisco. Weekly. 1898. No copies located.

L'International. San Francisco. Tri-weekly. Feb. 22, 1868. No copies located.

Journal d'Hygiène et de Santé. San Francisco. Monthly. Sept. 1904. California Historical Society, Sept.-Oct., 1904.

Le Journal du Lundi. San Francisco. Weekly. Feb. 3, 1868. California State Library, Nov. 16, 1868.

Le Messager. San Francisco. Tri-weekly. Aug. 16, 1853-March 1856. Prefecture of Police, Paris, Aug. 11, 1855, and fragment of another issue. Bancroft Library, microfilm of the above.

La Mine Littéraire. Not certainly a separate publication; see page 149.

Le Mineur. San Francisco. Semi-weekly. 1854-1855. No copies located.

Le Mineur (II). San Francisco. Weekly. June 5, 1859. Mrs. Randolph Walker (San Francisco), Jan. 15, 1860.

Le National. San Francisco. Weekly. March 7, 1864-Oct. 17(?), 1870. Succeeded by *L'Union Nationale.* Bancroft Library, complete except for two numbers. Mrs. Randolph Walker (San Francisco), Feb. 2, 1866. California State Library, Nov. 16, 1868.

Passe-Partout. San Francisco. Weekly. 1854 or 1855. No copies located.

Le Patriote. San Francisco. Daily. 1856. No copies located.

Le Petit Californien. San Francisco. Weekly; semi-weekly. March 26, 1887-ca. 1896. California Historical Society, partial file 1887 to 1896. Kansas State Historical Society, Aug. 5, Dec. 23, 1888.

Le Petit Courrier. San Francisco. Monthly. 1897. No copies located.

Le Petit Journal. San Francisco. Daily; weekly. Ca. Dec. 12, 1872. Succeeded by *Le Franco-Californien.* Bancroft Library, May 14, 1873; Aug. 31, 1874. California Historical Society, May 30, 1873.

Le Phare. San Francisco. Semi-weekly; daily. July 20, 1855-1863. Merged with *L'Echo du Pacifique.* New-York Historical Society, Jan. 3, 7-10, 14, 16-19, 1856. California Historical Society, Jan. 3, 8-10, 14, 16-19, 21, 1863 (microfilm); Jan. 24, 1862. California State Library, May 9, 16, 20, June 5, 1856. Huntington Library, July 11, 1860. California Historical Society, Jan. 24, 1862. Bancroft Library, Jan. 23, 1863, and microfilm of parts of two issues, dates not known.

Le Présent et l'Avenir. Not a separate publication; see page 15.

La Presse. San Francisco. 1854 or 1855. No copies located.

Le Progrès. San Francisco. Tri-weekly(?). 1868. No copies located.

Le Progrès (II). Los Angeles. Semi-weekly; bi-weekly; weekly. Oct. 11, 1884(?)-1897. Kansas State Historical Society, Dec. 22, 1888; Feb. 2, 16, 1889. Los Angeles County Museum, Jan. 26, 1889; April 13-Aug., Sept. 21-Dec., 1892; Jan.-Dec. 21, 1893; Jan. 4-11, Feb. 8, 22, March-Aug. 9, Aug. 23-Dec. 11, 1894; Jan.-March 16, March 30-April 13, April 27-May 4, May 18, June-Aug. 10, Aug. 24-Sept. 21, Oct. 5-Dec., 1895; Jan.-May 16, May 30-Aug. 29, Sept. 12, 26, Oct. 17, 1896. Bancroft Library, Jan. 6, Jan. 20-Feb. 24, March 9-30, April 20-27, May 11-June 1, Aug. 17-24, Sept. 21, Oct. 5, 19, Nov. 2, 23, Dec. 7, 1892; Jan. 26, Feb. 2, March 9, 23, April 20-May 4, 1893.

Le Progrès Californien. Los Angeles. Bi-weekly. 1891. No copies located.

Le Prolétaire. San Francisco. Single issue. Feb. 17, 1912. California State Library.

La Réforme. San Francisco. Weekly. Aug. 22, 1868. No copies located.

Le Relèvement. San Francisco. Semi-monthly. Nov. 1, 1894-1896. Bancroft Library, April 1-July 15, Oct. 15, 1895; Feb. 22, 1896.

Le Réveil. San Francisco. Weekly. 1904. California Historical Society, July 8, 1905.

La Revue Californienne. San Francisco. Weekly. June 7, 1851. No copies located.

La Revue Californienne (II). San Francisco. Weekly. Nov. 24, 1853. Prefecture of Police, Paris, Nov. 24, 1853; Jan. 19, 1854. Bancroft Library, microfilm of above.

La Ruche Littéraire. San Francisco. Weekly. Aug. 18, 1860. Huntington Library, Aug. 18, 1860 to Jan. 18, 1862. Bancroft Library, Dec. 5, 1860.

La Semaine Littéraire. San Francisco. Weekly. April 28, 1856. No copies located.

Le Sociétaire, see *Le Bulletin.*

Le Spectateur. San Francisco. Weekly. Ca. April 1, 1857-1858. Merged with *Bibliothèque Populaire.* No copies located. San Francisco weekly *Bulletin,* April 4, 1857, notes receipt of the first issue.

Le Tam-Tam. San Francisco. 1854 or 1855. No copies located.

Le Tam-Tam (II). San Francisco. Semi-weekly. April 1-July 29, 1896. Bancroft Library, complete.

L'Union. Los Angeles. Weekly. Aug. 5, 1876. No copies located.

L'Union Franco-Américaine. San Francisco. Daily. 1859(?)-1865. No copies located.

L'Union(e) Nationale. San Francisco. Daily except Mondays. Nov. 8-Dec. 4, 1870. Bancroft Library, complete except for Nov. 30-Dec. 1.

L'Union Nouvelle. Los Angeles. Weekly. May, 1870-date. Kansas State Historical Society, Sept. 15, Dec. 22, 1888. Los Angeles County Museum, May-Dec., 1892; Jan.-May, Dec., 1895; May-Oct., 1896; July 16, 1898; March 10, 23-April 21, May, June 30, 1900; June, 1902. Bancroft Library, Aug. 28, 1897-April 8, 22, 1899. Pomona College, March 1904 to March 1906. University of California, Berkeley, Jan. 1906 to March 25, 1916 (a few issues missing); June 17, 1911; March 6, 20, 1915. Publisher, 1914 to date. University of Illinois, Dec. 1917 to July 13, 1918.

La Vérité. San Francisco. Weekly; daily. 1921-1932. University of California, Berkeley, May 28, 1929; May 11, 1932. California Historical Society, May 28, 1929.

La Violette. San Francisco. 1899-1905(?). No copies located.

NOTES

47. "... the expense incurred for the comic sheet not having produced satisfactory results, we have decided to stop its distribution. Our Director, in the course of a journey to France, plans to come to an understanding with the Maison des Imageries d'Epinal for an illustrated supplement which will be more appropriate for the French Colony and, being in French, will be more pleasing to our readers."

48. Lusinchi was also a member of the Légion d'Honneur, with the rank of officier.

49. A letter from Raymond Ockernal, of the present Godeau firm, says in October; *Notre Centenaire* says November 30; a letter from Warren J. Ringen, a grandson of Godeau, says December 10.

50. Tom Mooney, long imprisoned by California as responsible for a bombing of a Preparedness Day parade in San Francisco in July, 1916, in which several persons were killed; released by governor's pardon a number of years later.

51. Most of the above information was furnished in 1954 by M. Louis de Guiringaud, then Consul General of France at San Francisco.

52. "The French population of our city has more than once shown a desire to see part of our journal in French.... So today we are happy to announce ... that beginning with the present number we shall give a summary [in French] and we hope that the pleasant relationship between us will be greatly furthered by this publication."

53. "We have received from Los Angeles the first number of 'El Clamor Publico,' a French-Spanish journal. We salute this new colleague of the press with sincere pleasure; the journal is edited in a way which will assure the good fortune we wish it. There are many French people in Los Angeles, and a journal in their language will be very useful to defend efficaciously the interest of our compatriots."

54. "With our last number the French section of *El Clamor Público* was terminated—we found ourselves obliged to take this step because the person helping us to edit it was ill; and we hope that this will not make much difference to our French subscribers because almost all of them know Spanish very well... it is our intention to undertake the publication of a small weekly in French and dedicated entirely to the interests of the French population of Southern California."

55. "Like so many natives of France who came to California, he was never able to quite master the English language." Biographical sketch, *Publications of the Historical Society of Southern California,* Vol. IV, p. 284.

56. He had attended the Collège de Troyes in France.

57. "... who has acquired a certain fame by his illustrious feats of calligraphic prowess, a mania for imitation, the mania of autographs. He departed without fanfare, one may say 'stole silently away.' It is reliably stated that his landlord and amphitryon was himself ignorant of his departure but is reported to have been left a souvenir by him, a piece of land which he [Tamiet] had sold by proxy and for which he neglected, as was natural, to turn over the proceeds. After all he was going to travel, and in traveling one often finds oneself short of cash. Only some intimate friends were in the secret of his departure. It is not known to what country he directed his steps and carried his penates—however, there would be nothing surprising if a certain powerful protector who perhaps had an interest in the eclipse of this shooting star, could give some indication in this respect, but that is scarcely to be expected. He leaves behind quite a few victims

of his sleight of hand; we are sincerely sorry for them but we shall try to console them by saying: it is preferable to be the victim of a swindler rather than to acquire property at a cheap price with his help."

The adjective "cartouchienne" in the French quotation was coined by de Mondran from the name of a famous bandit known as Cartouche (real name Bourguignon) who was broken on the wheel in Paris in 1721 and whose audacious exploits gave him a legendary reputation. According to de Mondran's account, Tamiet was, in fact, a rather audacious bandit in the financial line.

58. "The war of 1870 had, nevertheless, a salutary effect on the French spirit; it was the cold water that calmed the hot blood; it changed this superabundance of vitality that distinguishes the Gallic race, this bellicose spirit, this chauvinism, which dominated it, into aspirations of a different nature: industry, labor."

59. *History of Los Angeles County* (Chicago, 1889).

60. *Illustrated History of Southern California* (Chicago, 1890).

61. Amaury Mars, however, in his *Les Pyrénées et la Californie,* locates the store in San Francisco.

62. The issue of January 3, 1889, is marked "2e année, No. 4."

63. "a contemptible and miserable vagabond, named J. Y. Goytino, formerly an inmate of the County Jail in Los Angeles, has taken upon himself the task of vilifying us. We know that in France for three years he belonged to the congregation of ignorant Brothers under the name Brother Lupulus, and that he was guilty of a series of unnatural crimes. Forced to leave France as a result of his misdeeds, and also by faults committed against his uncle, Bernard Etcheverry, he drifted into California. Everyone knows that it is only because of the accidental death of his cousin Leonis that he does not occupy a cell in the State Prison at St. Quentin. After his fortuitous liberation he was made editor of *Le Progrès!* Our readers know what he has accomplished there."

64. Emile Quarré, who afterwards went into the jewelry business and failed; he is said to have joined the gold rush to the Klondike.

65. "The Society handles all questions relative to the Chicago Exposition, where it maintains a general agent. Representatives in New York. Information, investigation of all kinds for North America. Aids anyone having small capital who desires to learn the agriculture of the country or to settle in business in Canada, Texas, or California where it has trustworthy correspondents."

66. "Desirous of living in the new union [*Union Nouvelle*] and confident of the future [*Avenir*] our two French organs have just merged . . . the two directors in charge are: M. A. Davoust who for the last eighteen years has belonged to *L'Union Nouvelle.* A self-made man, everyone knows him, and esteems him. He deserve this. He is an industrious worker who collaborated with Messrs. Ganée and Auclair. . . . M. Theodore Gyger is an intelligent typographer who has worked devotedly for *L'Avenir,* which he helped out of the wilderness, and whose fate depended entirely on him . . . the two novels that are running will be continued serially on the same page of the new journal."

67. "It is not in exploiting the antagonisms, divisions, hatreds, rancors inherent in all political struggles, but in making an appeal to concord, union, and solidarity, that the expatriates will overcome the difficulties that assail them on every side. *Voix de France*."

68. "At present the number of French people known to the Consulate is about 2,000 for all those registered, the actual number of residents being doubtless 3,500 or perhaps more, of whom most are in Southern California. The above figures include not only the French but those having double nationality. In the former group naturalization is frequent but this does not mean Americanization, far from it. To this number should be added Americans of French origin (naturalized, or children of naturalized parents). According to official statistics there are about 12,000 in Los Angeles County. This latter group (children of naturalized parents) has very loose sentimental ties, or practically none at all, with France. Many speak French very badly or not at all; even for those who speak our tongue quite correctly, English is the mother tongue. French remains the cultural tongue for a very reduced number. New arrivals are relatively few. Among them, some, who expected to stay, return to France in a few years."

69. In addition to the listings given here, there are some old French newspapers from California in the library of the Institut de France at Paris. It has been impossible to find out what these are. They are known as the "série américaniste BY," and are said to have been sent to the Institut in 1855 by Alexander S. Taylor. The head librarian (Conservateur en Chef) reports: "Ce petit fonds a souffert de la répercussion des bombardements ainsi que des infiltrations de l'humidité. Or, ce qu'il en reste ne se trouve pas encore être communicable."

70. This title may have existed earlier as the weekly edition of the *Echo du Pacifique.*

71. Plus a substantial run of issues published before the journal moved to California.

72. Since the paper is still published, there are doubtless other files of recent issues.

Book of Remembrance

Established in 1945

On view in the Society's library is a finely bound "Book of Remembrance," recording the names of persons in whose memory contributions have been made to the Library Fund. Below are names that have been inscribed for 1959 and 1960.

1959

Frank N. Belgrano
Pierre Alexander Bergerot
Anson Stiles Blake
Richard O. Bliss
Charles R. Blyth
Leon Bocqueraz
Henry Hanna Brigham
Marcus Brower
Jesse Washington Carter
Henria P. Compton
Oscar Cooper
R. Tracy Crawford
Leland Cutler
Elie Dalmon
Fay Lanphier Daniels
Leroy Harris Dart
Charles Davis
David Clarence Demarest
Leslie Van Ness Denman
John Marshall Evans
Maude McKay Evans
Paul Scott Foster
John Debo Galloway
J. Duncan Gleason
Signe Berg Harding
Daisy Howard
Lorna Hunt
Charles Sexton James
Marie Louise Clayburgh Kahn
Haidee Grau Keesling
W. D. Kleinpell
Charles F. Lambert
Clarence F. Laumeister
Mary Josephine Lauppe
Ivy Lee, III
Lawrence Lovett
Angus McDonald
Edward Laird Mills
Tulita Wilcox Miner
Eugenie S. Neppert
Mrs. Richard Newhall
Phil O'Connell
Martha Hutchinson Ransome
Edward Gunther Schmiedell
Ethel R. Shorb
Harold M. Smith
Mary Swain Stabler
Alice Clay Stephenson
Harley C. Stevens
Anna Louise Green Turner
Emma Avaline Turner
Gustavus James Turner
Gustavus Samuel Turner
Caroline Wenzel
Katherine Emily Winn
William Watkin Winn

1960

Edith Winslow Allyne
Hans Barkan
Azalea Hastings Watkins Breeze
Alicia L. Compton
Oscar Cooper
Harry H. Fair
Helen Louise Hickok Ford
Guy J. Giffen
C. Donald Goodwin
Deborah Bixby Green
Sarah H. Gregory
Harry Edward Griffin
Mignon Mecartney Hall
Signe Berg Harding
Jesse Hardy
Bertram James Hunter
James Jenkins
R. Wallace Johnston
Arthur H. Kent
Thomas Kerchum
Harris Crozer Kirk
Charlotte Judson Levensaler
Eugene Walter Levy
Genevieve S. Manchester
Ada Harvey Martin
Tulita Wilcox Miner
William H. Noe
Eliza Mayhew Norton
Frank Butler Norton
Mary Downey Orrick

Mabel Pomeroy Planer
Christopher Henry Runde
Hannah Wheeler Runde
Gertrude Sinsheimer
John Hamilton Still
Madeiline Z. Turner
Ernest Burnham Wicke
Edward J. Wren

In Memoriam

HENRY CARL MAIER, who was born in Fruitvale, California, on August 22, 1898, passed away in Burlingame on July 10, 1960. He is survived by his widow Jeanne Greenlee Maier, a brother, Herman L. Maier and a sister, Ann Leggett.

Mr. Maier was the eldest son of Henry Maier and Annie Hauser who migrated to this country from their native Germany in the 1880s. The elder Mr. Maier was a well-known figure on the Stanford campus where he was in charge of the landscaping for many years.

Henry C. Maier was a veteran of World War I and attended Stanford University. He started his banking career with the Bank of Italy in San Mateo. Later he became an officer of the old Bank of Burlingame and then of the Peninsula Bank which he served as cashier. When this institution became a part of the Bank of America system he was appointed manager of the Burlingame Branch, serving in that capacity until 1940 when he was promoted to managership of the bank's Humboldt Branch in San Francisco.

He was assistant to the bank's personnel relations officer during World War II and in 1946 was elevated to vice president of the bank and manager of its Redwood City Branch. Three years later he was appointed vice president and manager of the bank's San Francisco Main Office, a position he continued to occupy until the time of his death.

In addition to his membership in the California Historical Society he was an active member of various fraternal orders and service organizations. He was a leader in community affairs and had an enviable record of unselfish civic service.

He was a man of unquestioned integrity, with a deep sense of his responsibilities as a citizen. He was recognized as a sound, competent banker who combined good judgment with sympathy and understanding. His passing leaves a very real void in the hearts of the many who knew him.

E. W. BACIGALUPI

With the death of Hans Barkan on March 7, 1960, the California Historical Society lost one of its most loyal members and San Francisco lost one of its most distinguished and beloved ophthalmologists.

Hans Barkan was born in San Francisco July 26, 1882, the oldest son of Adolph and Louise Desepte Barkan. He was a member of a family associated with ophthalmology: his father, Adolph, a Hungarian immigrant, was a member of the original medical faculty at Stanford University Medical School; his brother, Otto, who died in April 1958, was widely known for his work in glaucoma; a nephew, Thomas Barkan, has just entered the private practice of ophthalmology.

Hans Barkan was a graduate of Stanford University and received his M.D. from Harvard Medical School in 1910. Following this he went to Vienna where he studied a number of years under the world-famous ophthalmologist Ernst Fuchs and then returned to this country to teach pathology at Harvard. He returned to San Francisco as a practicing ophthalmologist in 1914 and continued to practice until his retirement in 1954. During the time that he was in active practice he wrote numerous articles on ophthalmological subjects in addition to being one of the editors of two of the important medical journals dealing with the diseases of the eye. During this time he served as captain in the United States Army Medical Corps during World War I.

From 1925 to 1950 he was Professor of Ophthalmology and Head of the Department of Ophthalmology at Stanford University Medical School. He was a great teacher who had the ability to keep the students spellbound during his lectures. Those who studied under him referred to him with great affection as "Doctor Hans." He enjoyed a large practice, was loved by his many patients and held in high esteem by his colleagues. As one of his former resident physicians summed it up, "He was a great doctor, one who knew the depth and breadth of human nature, one who caused patients to say, 'that man is a saint'."

In addition to his great interest in his specialty, Hans Barkan was a bibliophile with a collection of books that was very dear to him. He was also the author of a book *Brahms and Billroth: Letters from a Musical Friendship.* Dr. Barkan was a music lover. An amateur violinist, he took great delight in playing quartet with some of his friends from the San Francisco Symphony Orchestra. He served as a director of the

San Francisco Symphony. His interest in education is shown by the fact that he was a Trustee of Mills College and of the Thatcher School at Ojai. He was a member of many medical societies, both in the United States and abroad. He has been a member of the California Historical Society since 1947 and a member of the University Club of San Francisco.

Doctor Barkan is survived by his wife, the former Phoebe Bunker; two children, A. William Barkan and Mrs. Phoebe B. Gilpin; a brother, Fritz Barkan, all of the San Francisco Bay Area, and a sister, Mrs. Eric Offerman of Zurich, Switzerland.

A man of many interests, capable in many fields, Hans Barkan enjoyed a full life.

Frederick C. Cordes

DONORS OF GIFTS TO THE SOCIETY

August 1 to November 1, 1960

Alameda
  W. Barclay Stephens, M.D.
Auburn
  Mrs. Walter M. Flood
Berkeley
  Ralph H. Cross, Sr.
  Ephriam Dyer
  Francis P. Farquhar
  George P. Hammond
  Mr. and Mrs. Hobart M. Lovett
  Miss Emily Turner
Boise, Idaho
  Idaho Historical Society
Daly City
  Mrs. R. H. Hunt
Hayward
  Harry E. Rutledge
Hillsborough
  Lucius Beebe
Keene, New Hampshire
  M. L. Owen Meserve, Jr.
Kirkwood, Missouri
  Cyril Clemens
Lansing, Michigan
  Michigan Historical Commission
Los Angeles
  Mrs. Edith S. DeLozier
  Doyce B. Nunis, Jr.
  Security First National Bank
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  Mrs. H. Clay Daulton
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Mill Valley
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  Mr. and Mrs. Philip C. Watkins
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Oakland
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- Captain Johan H. Sever
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- T. A. Strobridge

San Mateo
- Harold F. Taggart

San Rafael
- Mrs. Russell A. Mackey

Santa Monica
- Cecil Frankel

Santa Rosa
- Mrs. Vera C. Miller

Marginalia

Gordon C. Roadarmel was born in India of missionary parents and spent most of his pre-college years there, returning to the United States in 1950. He has a B.A. degree from the College of Wooster, and an M.A. from the University of California, Berkeley. He has taught at the Crystal Springs School for Girls, Hillsborough, and is currently doing graduate work in South Asian languages at the University of California, Berkeley.

Warren I. Titus is Associate Professor of English at the George Peabody College for Teachers, Nashville, Tennessee. He holds a B.M. degree from Rollins College, an M.A. from Columbia University and a Ph.D. in American Civilization from New York University. His doctoral dissertation was a critical biography of the American novelist Winston Churchill. He has previously written articles for the *Indiana Magazine of History* and the *Journal of the Central Mississippi Valley American Studies Association.*

Clifford H. Bissell studies at the Collège de Juilly, France, and the Vitzthumsches Gymnasium, and holds a B.A. degree from Yale University, an LL.B. from Columbia University, an M.A. from Princeton, and Ph.D. from the University of California. He is the author of *Prepositions in French and English*, *Les Conventions du Théâtre Bourgeois en France, 1887-1914*; and with William van Wyck translated into English rhymed verse Edmond Rostand's *Cyrano de Bergerac* and *Chantecler*. He is Associate Professor of French, Emeritus, University of California.

New Books

The Life and Times of Fray Junípero Serra, O.F.M. By Maynard J. Geiger, O.F.M. (Washington, D.C.: Academy of American Franciscan History, 1959. Vol. I, 448 pp.; vol. II, 508 pp. $12.00.)

If you were to ask any native Californian who is the most widely known character in his state's history, the odds would be that he would name Father Junipero Serra. While the region has produced many famous men, none of them is so generally revered as Serra, nor does any other historical figure have the legendary quality of the founder of California's missions. It has been said that one element of greatness is the ability to inspire the creation of a legend. Father Serra's career has been the subject of a vast amount of writing, discussion, and even folklore, and he represents California in Statuary Hall, Washington, D. C.

Serra's first biography, entitled *Relación Histórica de la Vida y Apostólicas Tareas del Venerable Padre Fray Junípero Serra* (Mexico, 1787), was written by his Franciscan co-worker, admirer, and former student, Francisco Palóu. It was highly eulogistic and written to emphasize the great achievements of his friend. It created the Serra legend, and, despite its friendly bias, remained for almost a hundred years the best history of California's founding; it has strongly influenced subsequent American writers.

The latest biography of Serra has been written by Father Maynard J. Geiger, also a Franciscan, but, in addition, a trained modern historian who treats his subject with less sentiment and more objectivity. His task was difficult in that much of the earlier writing about Serra had considerable emotional content. Although Father Geiger is forced, as are other historians, to draw extensively upon Palóu's life of Serra and his *Notícias de la Nueva California,* he has utilized this material critically and with discrimination. To verify incidents described by Palóu and to add new information to the Serra story he has carried his research into fifty-four different archives, libraries, and collections. Nowhere is the scholarship of *The Life and Times of Fray Junípero Serra* better illustrated than in the bibliography where a list of the manuscripts examined occupies a space of more than sixty pages.

While elevation to sainthood has been sought for Serra by his admirers from the time of Palóu to the present, there is no trace of special pleading in Father Geiger's work. Treated in a strictly scholarly manner, Serra appears as a remarkable man. He was a single-minded missionary who subordinated everything, including himself, to the objective of his pioneer evangelical work as he understood it. His administration as father-president was effective and his knowledge of California's needs so thorough that he was given more authority than customary. Frequently in conflict with local governors, he battled for what he considered best for the missions and the Indian converts. It was as the founder of nine successful California missions that Serra won his place in history. These missions represent the culmination of his career.

The earlier phase of his life is equally interesting, if less significant. A native of Majorca, he entered the Franciscan Order in 1730 at the age of seventeen. Brilliant in his studies, he was selected a decade later to teach a course in philosophy at the Convent of San Francisco in Palma. Among Serra's students were Francisco Palóu and Juan Crespí, both of later California fame. Father Geiger adds realism to his narrative by utilizing detailed notes of Serra's lectures on philosophy taken by another student, Francisco Noguera. Serra attained his doctorate in theology in 1742 and soon was appointed professor at Lullian University. The new materials on Serra's teaching reveal that he was a talented and sympathetic instructor.

Serra was a success as a university professor, yet he gave up this career to enter the mission field. He sailed for Mexico in 1749 and soon after his arrival was sent to serve as president of the Sierra Gorda missions. He remained there eight years and left, as a monument to his

The Henry E. Wagner Memorial Award being presented to Father Maynard Geiger, O.F.M.
Left to right: The Honorable Joseph R. Knowland, *Chairman of the Board of Trustees,*
Father Maynard Geiger, Donald C. Biggs, *Director,* and Francis P. Farquhar.

labors, the stone church at Jalpan which still stands. Recalled from the Sierra Gorda, Serra was forced to wait ten years before his call to California. In this decade he traveled a great deal on various missions and won fame for his emotional and effective pulpit oratory. Finally in 1769, after a brief stay in Baja California, Serra was sent to Alta California with the Portolá expedition. He was then fifty-six years of age, with nineteen years of service in Mexico.

By way of comparison, his California career lasted fifteen years. Since these were Serra's years of greatest accomplishment, Father Geiger devotes approximately three-fourths of his work to them. Within thirteen years Serra founded the missions of San Diego de Alcalá, San Carlos Borroméo, San Antonio de Padua, San Gabriel Arcángel, San Luis Obispo de Tolosa, San Francisco de Asís, San Juan Capistrano, Santa Clara, and San Buenaventura. To Californians today it seems that the material results of Serra's efforts are far more permanent than the spiritual. The missions laid the economic foundations for future California development; and the beginnings of the state's great cities of San Diego, Los Angeles, San Jose, and San Francisco can be traced to missions founded by Serra in their vicinities. The father-president directed the missions in their successful struggle to become self-sustaining.

The work of the missionaries in developing agriculture in a land where it was hitherto unknown had great significance for the future. It was the Spanish padres' fate that they should win a place in history in a manner they did not foresee. In a sense, Father Serra and his Franciscans failed in their goals of Christianizing and civilizing the large Indian population and in winning a new province for Spain. Spain's hold on California was brief, and most of the mission Indians soon disappeared. The mundane mission work of irrigation, cultivation of grains and fruits, and the breeding of livestock made a substantial and permanent historical contribution.

Father Geiger places greater emphasis upon the spiritual aspects of Serra's career and upon administrative matters. Obviously the character of the source materials influences the orientation of any historical work. In the present instance, defects are difficult to find. For the layman, those parts of the narrative which deal with routine operations of the

Franciscan Order and with church affairs, while instructive, are the least interesting. The "Lady in Blue" legend seems a trifle overemphasized but is useful in showing that Serra and his contemporaries lived in a less skeptical age than ours.

One of the most praiseworthy features of Father Geiger's work results from the careful attention he has given to the geographical settings of his narrative. It is obvious that the author has seen the places he mentions and that he has followed Serra's travels in Majorca, Mexico, and California. His descriptions of places, people, and customs are vivid. Maps showing Serra's journeys reveal better than words the magnitude of that phase of his career.

The Life and Times of Fray Junípero Serra is an interesting story told with clarity, accuracy, and the charm of Franciscan simplicity. History can be strung upon many threads, and a great deal of Franciscan history and California history has been strung with skill upon the thread of Serra's life. Father Geiger makes no claims that he has written a definitive biography; in fact, he suggests possibilities for future research. Despite this modesty, his two volumes will, without doubt, remain for a great many years the most thorough and scholarly work upon the founder of California's missions.

LAWRENCE KINNAIRD

Industrial Relations in the San Francisco Bay Area—1900 to 1918. By Robert Knight. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1960. 463 pp. $6.50.)

This work transcends the interest of those primarily interested in the history of San Francisco and its labor movement and presents a broad study of the sociology, politics, economics and colorful personalities that moulded the destiny of a great industrial area. Much has been written of San Francisco in story and fiction and fact; but no other work on the colorful past of San Francisco has done so much to give us the inner workings of the forces that pushed the city through prosperity, fire and earthquake, the Panama-Pacific International Exposition and World War I.

The author has made a judicious use of the mass of detail that he accumulated and studied over a period of three years. The book is filled with hundreds of incidents involving the growing union movement and employer alliances; rivalries between the new men of power arising from the ranks of labor; and the emergence of the new Labor Party. Perhaps the book may be criticized for omission of some of the background material behind certain strikes and collusive agreements with employers.

A reasonably accurate account is given of the Millmen's Lockout-Strike of 1900, but the full significance of this incident is not pointed out. However, since the author did not have access to the private papers of P. H. McCarthy this failure is to be expected. This was not a local strike but one that was decided at a national convention in St. Louis. It was part of an effort to organize all planing mills in the United States. It was decided at the national convention to use San Francisco as a testing ground because it was the strongest union town in the country at that time. The union-operated planing mill capitalized at $100,000 (p. 54) was on order before the strike was called. This was a national venture, not exclusively local, although the San Francisco Building Trades Council organized and directed it. The mill was later sold at a profit. In latter years McCarthy would refer to this as the classical way to prepare for a strike. For most unions in the area it established the pattern of not calling strikes unless they had great assurance of success. The book does not mention the state-wide employer's council, a dummy association which the building trades council used for its own purposes.

It is stated (p. 219) that P. H. McCarthy promised to make his administration a "tolerant" one that would make pleasure-loving San Francisco the "Paris of America"; it is also stated that he was supported by the tenderloin proprietors. The implication is clear that McCarthy intended to make San Francisco an open city, if he was elected mayor. While this may be true, there is evidence that calling San Francisco the "Paris of America" was in connection with a project proposed by him to extend the Panhandle of Golden Gate Park all the way to Van Ness Avenue.

The moratorium on open-shop campaigns by employers and the agreement by unions to relax their work rules in order to establish industrial peace during the period of construction for the Panama-Pacific Exposition of 1915 is well handled in chapters VII and XI. An interesting item might be added in that McCarthy was not only a part of Exposition Management, being a director, but also as President of the Building Trades Council he was the principal union negotiator.

This scholarly work closes with an excellent summary chapter. It gives a broad sweep to the kaleidoscopic events of this hectic period in San Francisco history. Scholars will be delighted with its copious annotations and excellent bibliography. This is close to being the definitive work on this period; and when the private papers of P. H. McCarthy are available for research, the work will be completed.

Andrew C. Boss, S.J.

California Place Names. (Revised and enlarged edition with maps.) By Erwin G. Gudde. (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1960. $10.00.)

Since 1816, when septuagenarian Egbert Benson read a paper to the New York Historical Society, scholars have been trying to explain the meanings of the several million place names which dot our map. During most of the period it was a losing battle, since names were being given faster than they were being explained. In recent years the tide has perhaps turned.

Still, onomastic study in this country has not attained the status that it holds in Europe, where an international congress on names meets triennially, and where the work of such groups as the English Place-Name Society has resulted in major contributions to scholarship. Though our historical societies have generally welcomed such articles to their journals, our universities have given little support to this field of study, and no chair of onomastics exists in this country. In fact, the onomatologist is a lonely figure on most campuses, and the American Name Society publishes its journal *Names* without institutional or foundational subsidy, wholly by the subscriptions of its members.

Fortunately—from the point of view of a devoted student of names such as the present writer—the situation in California, particularly in the San Francisco area, is much better than that throughout the country. Our state, we may say, has always had an interest in names. This interest was curiously displayed even in the meeting of the first legislature, when a special committee was appointed to investigate "the derivation and definition of the names" of the original 27 counties. The report of this committee was published, 2,000 copies in English, 1,000 in Spanish. At the present time our Berkeley campus of the University of California has no fewer than thirteen members of the American Name Society, while other large universities have one or sometimes even none. Throughout California there are, including libraries, 76 members; New York, the closest rival, has only 44.

California Place Names may be considered partly the effect and partly the cause of this great local interest. It was published originally in 1949. After the exhaustion of the first printing, it now appears in revised and enlarged form, improved in appearance and in usefulness by the insertion of five maps, one of them colored.

The author, for many years a distinguished member of the Department of German on the Berkeley campus, should be known to the members of the California Historical Society, since he has several times published under the Society's imprint. He was the original editor of *Names,* and the March, 1959, issue of that quarterly was dedicated to him on the occasion of his seventieth birthday. It included a brief autobiography and a bibliography.

Since *California Place Names* has already established itself as a basic and irreplaceable volume of Californiana, a review in the ordinary sense is not demanded at the present time. Doubtless the editor had this in mind when he asked me, scarcely a neutral person, to officiate. My connection with the work was close from its inception. I was chairman of the advisory committee, offered many suggestions, and am quoted on many pages. My relationship to the volume is therefore a kind of grandfatherly one, and no one can be judicially critical of a grandchild.

This is not to say that I always agree with Professor Gudde. (Heaven forfend that scholars should always agree!) We have even publicly broken lances over the origin of California itself in the arena of *Names.*

Some words of mine are even quoted on the jacket of the present volume in what is known to the book-trade as a blurb. These words are, however, actually drawn from my foreword to the original edition, which is now properly omitted in the new edition. Still, I am ready as a reviewer to stand by the words there quoted, such as, "his scholarship is rigorous." In fact, I am surer of my position now than I was then.

In the ensuing eleven years I have frequently read in some out-of-the-way source of California history and have come across a passage indicating the origin of a name. Checking back, I have found that in almost every case Gudde had already used the passage, elusive though it was.

In that foreword I expressed the opinion that *California Place Names* set a new high standard for works in its field. I believe, moreover, that the volume more than holds its own with the only comparable one to appear since the time of its original publication, that is, Byrd H. Granger's revision of Barnes's *Arizona Place Names* (1960).

As for the way in which the work has been "revised and enlarged," something may be summarized. Special study of the letter A would indicate that the number of entries has been increased by about 5%. Some of these represent new names, which had probably not established themselves when the research was being done for the first edition, e.g., Aeroplane Canyon (ca. 1944); Apple Valley (post office established, 1949). They include also older names for which an explanation has become available, e.g., Alcove Canyon, which displays an interesting shift from its original Elk Cove. Revisions in the original entries also occur. Thus the very first entry, Abalone, has been more than doubled in length, and its ultimate derivation from one of the Indian languages is more fully established.

In its present form the handsome and authoritative volume is, more than ever, a *sine qua non* for any library of Californiana.

George R. Stewart

Frank Norris: A Bibliography. By Kenneth A. Lohf and Eugene P. Sheehy. (Los Gatos: The Talisman Press, 1959. 110 pp. Illus. $5.75.)

It is certain that no one will every study or write on Frank Norris in the future without being grateful to Kenneth A. Lohf and Eugene P. Sheehy, the authors, and to Newton Baird and Robert Greenwood, the printers and publishers. They all deserve high praise and encouragement; and one hopes that other fine bibliographical studies may come from The Talisman Press of Los Gatos, and in as attractive a guise.

What the authors have attempted to do is nothing less than to record all of the writings of Frank Norris in all editions and in all translations, including collected works, individual works, dramatizations, film adaptations, and contributions to periodicals (serializations, poetry, short stories, articles and sketches, and translations). They have also compiled a check-list of writings about Frank Norris in books, parts of books, and periodicals and have found many reviews of his work. The whole is topped with an index, so often omitted from such studies. The authors have succeeded in presenting a welcome addition to California bibliography.

The printers, who are also the publishers, have given us an attractively printed, handsomely bound small book that fulfills its function admirably. The type is large enough for easy reading (too often the printers of bibliographical works offend here); and it is cleanly printed. They have succeeded in presenting a welcome addition to California typography.

For the general reader who has discovered Frank Norris (and there must be many among members of the California Historical Society), this is a book which must be bought, for it will lead him to many delightful pages of Norris' writings now brought to light by the authors.

There are some criticisms (why did not the authors consult C. Waller Barrett and his excellent Norris collection in New York?); but the final impression is one of painstaking research well done, admirably presented by the printers and publishers.

Let us buy the book. JOHN SWINGLE

Chinatown San Francisco. Photographs by Phil Palmer, text by Jim Walls. (Berkeley, Calif.: Howell-North, 64 pp. $1.00.)

Here is the answer to the tourist's prayer—a souvenir of San Francisco's Grant Avenue and Chinatown which is worth giving and worth keeping. This is something that cannot be said, after all, of every back-scratcher and fan one finds while browsing in the myriad bazaars of *Dupont Gai.* Besides being the ideal keepsake, this small book does add something worthwhile to our too-small shelf of Chinatowniana, if we may be permitted the coinage of such a cacophonous term for want of one better.

Yes, even in terms of the collector, the student, the "authority" (whatever *that* means), this small book is worth having. Phil Palmer's photographs are good and are fresh. Even his shots of familiar scenes are from a different angle or with an artistic composition that renders them interesting. The collaborators, Messers Palmer and Walls, have done a good job within the obviously difficult limitations of a soft-bound, small photographic-essay.

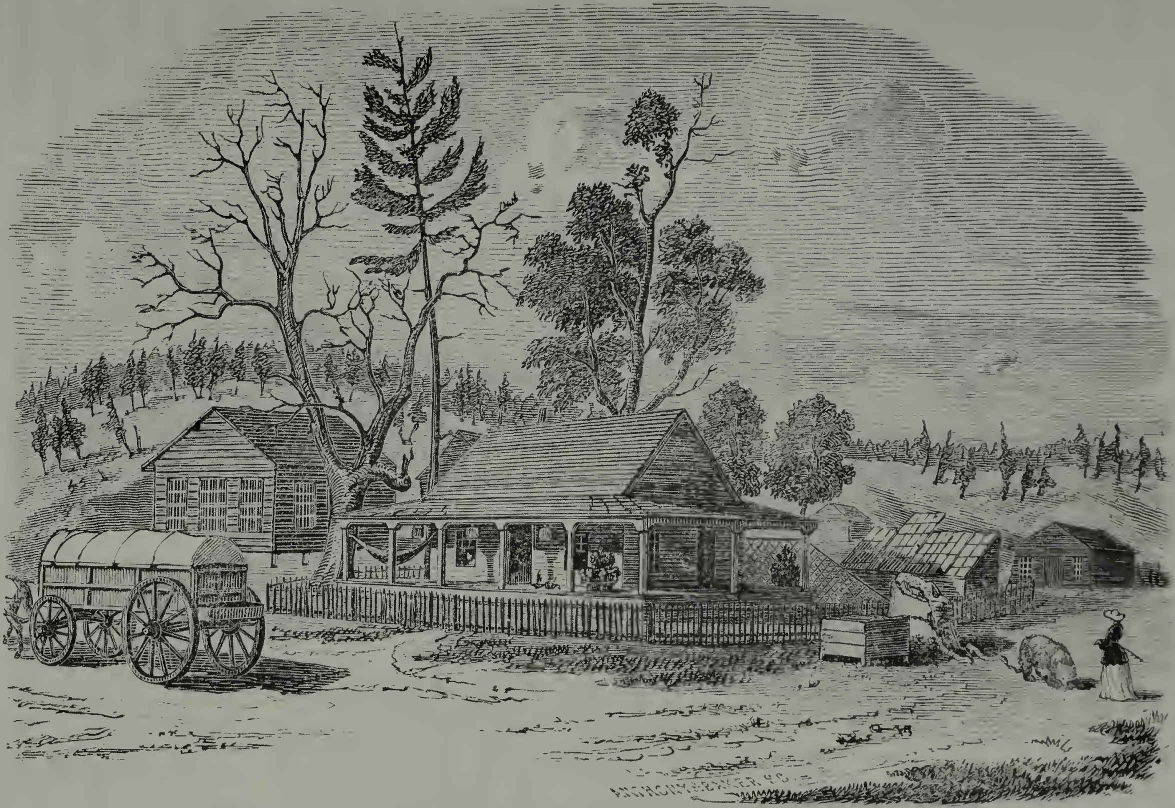
To a keen student of Chinatown the volume is somewhat disappointing even within this pocket-book frame of reference. There are too few interior shots. Chingwah Lee's studio is interesting but even more interesting would be family scenes—the Chinese-American family at home. Perhaps for a real "inside" view of Chinatown via the photo-essay we must wait until someone like Charles Leong or Jade Snow Wong takes kodak in one hand and Olivetti in the other. Also, while Jim Wall's text is adequate, the actual captions under many illustrations are hackneyed and unimaginative. On all other counts, however, this book scores well. As far as the undersigned *aficionado* is concerned it deserves a resounding *Ding How!*

Richard H. Dillon

Surveyor of the Sea: The Life and Voyages of Captain George Vancouver. By Bern Anderson. (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1960. 274 pp. $6.75.)

Bern Anderson, a retired admiral of the U. S. Navy, first became interested in Vancouver while tending and servicing radio stations in Oregon, Washington, and Alaska during the middle 1930's and "became curious about the origin of the predominatingly English names borne by islands, channels, headlands, and other geographical features in these restricted waters." A little study led him to the work of Vancouver in 1791 to 1795 and resulted in his admiration for the man and his work based on his "own experience in hydrographic surveying with modern equipment." On retiring from active service Anderson continued his interest in Vancouver and his work in a doctoral thesis in history at Harvard; the present book is an amplification of that thesis.

The book tells primarily of the man and how he accomplished his tasks under his instructions and in the light of world conditions. It gives the general background of the activities in which Vancouver played his part and even goes a step farther in indicating the present-day setting of many of Vancouver's activities. The book presents the economic and



RESIDENCE OF LOLA MONTEZ, GRASS VALLEY.

[Letter sheet]

A recent acquisition to the Society's collection.

especially the political background and some of the scientific activities of the century, but very little of the background of the new way of thinking.

Of the book's 274 pages the first 39 are devoted to Vancouver's birth, youth, service under Cook, and service in the Caribbean before he began his life's work. The following 173 pages describe and narrate Vancouver's definite survey of the coast from Puget Sound to Cook Inlet searching for the navigable outlet of the Passage, his part in the Nootka Sound affair and in the location of European settlements south to 30° off the northern coast of Baja California. In this latter task, by his instructions, he depended on the data from Spanish sources except for a short survey of the lower Columbia. The final 17 pages cover the years of Vancouver's rather unhappy life of retirement, editing the *Voyage of Discovery*, his declining health and death. The appendix containing copies of his instructions for the voyage and for his part in the Nootka Sound affair, together with the notes and index, make up the remainder of the volume. There are also six pages of maps and ten pages of pictures, including one of Vancouver.

The book is very readable. Vancouver, the man and surveyor, stands out above the survey. It depicts his care of his men, his improvement on Cook's method of combatting scurvey on long voyages, his relations with natives and with Europeans, his careful work, his declining health and its effect on his occasional behavior toward his crew. Anderson discounts the tradition that Vancouver was stricken with tuberculosis and find indications of a hyperthyroid condition in the symptoms described in the text and from the neck scarf shown in his picture.

The wars during Vancouver's last years, the Camelford affair, troubles with the Admiralty and the antipathy of the head of the Royal Society all contributed to obscuring the man and his work. In spite of this, Vancouver's work did play its vital part in the growth of Hawaii and in the Oregon Boundary Question. His place in history rests on appreciation of the accuracy of the survey in the northern waters by navigators and surveyors from the days of Wilkes to those of Davidson, and on recognition that Cook overshadowed Vancouver, due to different settings and instructions. Until that time, Vancouver's voyage was the longest ever made; the admiral estimates it at 65,000 miles with

10,000 more made by the small boats in the river surveys. Anderson concludes that "his energy, tight discipline, and meticulous attention to details, all characteristics of a conscientious officer, was rewarded with respect by most of his officers and men, as well as by modern students of naval exploration." His high appreciation of Vancouver and his work in the Northwest is justifiable; but it must be questioned in regard to the survey and other data south of the Columbia.

Some questions arise. Was it Palisadoes or Palisados off Port Royal in Jamaica? After leaving Monterey in 1793 did Vancouver actually stop at a third mission? Does the recognized accuracy cover the work in California? Does not the "security of the California missions" mean the mission colonizations rather than the missions themselves? Is the statement correct that Vancouver was "the first to lift the curtain of secrecy from the presidios and missions" in California, thus ignoring the details gathered by La Perouse six years before Vancouver, and published in French and English the same year as the *Voyage of Discovery?* As to the accuracy regarding the 1792 visit to San Francisco Bay several questions arise: describing the first anchorage as "two miles" from the "outer entrance"; the distance between the points of this anchorage (Yerba Buena Cove); and the accuracy of the San Francisco chart in the Atlas. This chart gives the latitude, longitude, compass variation, and a scale of miles, which presumably fit the reading of the text. Vancouver took no observations here so his directions are by compass, corrected for variations. The text and the chart agree and are relatively correct but the chart distance between the anchorage points is three times too great (about double the distance by the chart scale) and the Presidio is located about 55° too far west. By the directions and distances as given in the text no first anchorage can be found in the Bay; and the San Francisco office of the Coast and Geodetic Survey was unable with all its maps to find such a location. Also, in 1793 Vancouver reported his anchorage as "two miles" off shore with "the Spanish settlement [Mission San Juan Capistrano] close to the waterside." The mission is about two miles (airline) from the shore or about half a league and in view of the ocean as stated by the founding fathers. From the ship's deck Vancouver could probably have seen the trees at the mission situated on an elevation of 116 feet and four miles away. He stated that because of a fair gale for sailing he resisted the temptation to pass a few hours there. What he saw "close to the waterside" may possibly have been, according to Engelhardt, a warehouse for the ocean-borne supplies for this mission and San Gabriel. Also his information as to the founding dates of the San Francisco Presidio, Mission Santa Cruz, Mission Dolores, and the pueblo of San Jose may have been recorded from misinformation given by the Spanish. The inaccuracies reduce the value of the work for California; but the text and the Atlas do have much of service, as for instance correcting Bancroft's location of the "ancient anchorage" in the bay.

Admiral Anderson has produced an excellent book on the life of the surveyor and as a fellow sailor and surveyor he has joined the modern historians in taking an impartial viewpoint in appraising the man and his work in the light of the times, his instructions, and the problems involved. It is an excellent book for the general reader and also for the student and researcher for that part of the text and Atlas done by Vancouver and his officers; but it must be questioned for the text and chart south of the Columbia because of the nature of the data as presented by Vancouver himself.

J. N. Bowman

Willie Boy: A Desert Manhunt. By Harry Lawton. (Balboa Island, Calif.: Paisano Press, 1960. 195 pp. $5.95.)

Willie Boy was a Piute Indian from Twentynine Palms who had taken up the ways of the white man but returned to his tribal mores in the capture of a wife. When the girl's father opposed the marriage because his daughter was distantly related to her suitor, Willie Boy solved the problem that night by shooting the father while he slept. The act was not too reprehensible in the eyes of many Indians, to whom marriage by capture was traditional; and both Indians and whites knew soon after Willie Boy took the girl that he had been drinking. He had found part of a bottle of whiskey that two boys in the same bunkhouse had bought in a San Bernardino speakeasy the day before.

These events, which took place on Sunday, September 26, 1909, at the Gilman Ranch east of Banning, California, hardly seemed of sufficient importance to warrant countrywide press coverage; but the visit of President Taft a few days later in Riverside County (which contains

Banning) and the extraordinary stamina of Willie Boy in evading capture made the tracking down of the young Indian a story known from coast to coast.

At twenty-seven, Willie was a cowboy who could hold his own with any other, a skilled rider and an excellent shot. He took the job at the Gilman Ranch so that he could be near sixteen-year-old Lolita, the girl whom he wanted as wife. Her father and mother were on the ranch with her, also her younger brothers and sisters, as fruitpickers. After the shooting and under threat of death for the entire family, the mother told Lolita to go with Willie Boy.

That night the couple walked a distance of about fifteen miles to Whitewater Ranch, where a cousin of Lolita's had seen them. The posse from Banning, already tracking them, were shown where they had been seen and guessed that Willie Boy would head for his home in Twentynine Palms rather than go to the closer haven of Palm Springs, where he would probably be less welcome. Although skilled trackers were used by the posse, Willie Boy and the girl managed to keep ahead of them. Over mountainous terrain, travelling with little rest, food, or water, they reached a point about fifty miles from Banning, not far north of The Pipes, on Thursday, September 30. There the girl could go no farther. Willie Boy shot her in the back. When the posse found her body, it was still warm.

Sheriff Wilson of Riverside County was already in charge of the chase of Willie Boy. With the murder of Lolita, which took place in San Bernardino County, Sheriff Ralphs of that county began raising a posse of his own to assist the others.

Although the men had surmised that Willie Boy was heading for his home at Twentynine Palms, no members of the posse, except three led by a man from Banning, tried to intercept him there, and they arrived too late. His trail now led to Mesquite Springs, through which they had already passed, and it was getting dark.

There had been little journalistic mention of Willie Boy until after Lolita's death. Then the sentimental interest spurred the scribes into greater and greater endeavors. Lolita's background now began to resemble that of Ramona. Her father became a chieftain of "high estate" as time passed and his daughter an Indian princess. The posses also grew in size—and this was not exaggerated. In the final phase of the pursuit of Willie Boy about seventy-five men were engaged.

As previously noted, what brought the western manhunt to national attention was the presence of President William H. Taft in Riverside County. On October 12 he was in the city of Riverside. Nothing of interest had happened that day on the President's tour; and the reporters at the banquet that evening at the Mission Inn were famished for good copy. Since nearly all other dignitaries of town and county were present, E. A. Fowler of the *New York Sun* asked where the sheriff was. When told that Sheriff Wilson was bound for Banning to continue the hunt for Willie Boy, Fowler knew he had his story. Dunlap of the *New York World* also caught on. Willie Boy became front-page news across the nation for several days.

At the time of President Taft's visit in Riverside, Willie Boy had been dead for five days, but no one knew it. On October 7, five men had finally caught up with him on Ruby Mountain. He had twisted back on his trail until he was rather near the place where he had killed Lolita. One of the posse was wounded and several of the horses were hit. Every time anyone in the posse tried to move toward Willie Boy's higher vantage point, bullets struck very close. Darkness fell and the chief concern was for getting Charlie Reche, the injured man, back to civilization where his wounds could be cared for. After dark, as they were about to go, the men heard a single report. The wounded man was certain it meant Willie Boy had shot himself, but no one was willing to go and investigate. It was not proved until Friday, October 15, eight days later. Willie Boy had taken off a shoe so that his big toe could pull the trigger and send his last rifle bullet through his heart.

Although the bibliography and internal evidence indicate extensive research, this account is written like a novel in the way first made popular by Lytton Strachey. Detail is well used and the reconstructed tale of Willie Boy contains excellent character sketches as well as plenty of suspense.

There can be no complaint about the moral coordinates of the story. The author deals with his subject objectively without trying to draw a moral. Willie Boy was to a great extent the victim of his environment—and the bottle of whisky.

The book itself is of handsome format with effective silhouette illustrations for the chapter headings and a set of twenty photographs of the characters and of some of the items in the manhunt and aftermath. This reviewer's sole objection is that the end-paper maps fail to contain many place names which appear in the text.

Edmund Kiernan

The Electric Interurban Railways in America. By George W. Hilton and John F. Due. (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1960. 463 pp. $9.50.)

On picking up a book prosaically titled *The Electric Interurban Railways in America,* one does not expect to read a Greek tragedy. Yet the history so painstakingly researched and objectively related by the authors, John F. Due and George W. Hilton, bears an inescapable resemblance to those ancient dramas of the grimness of fate. For here was a great industry, the seeds of whose doom were already sprouting at its birth and which could no more escape extinction than Oedipus could evade catastrophe.

The tragedy of the interurban railway lay in its almost simultaneous birth with the automobile and, strangely enough, in its much more rapid development. The electric interurban, essentially a simple device capable of carrying passengers cheaper, more frequently, and often faster than the steam trains which had moved 98% of American travel, found a ready public acceptance. From a beginning in the 90's, over 15,000 miles of main line were in service by 1914. You could go from Chicago to St. Louis by riding connecting interurbans—from Chicago to New York if you were willing to hire a buggy for the 33 miles from Little Falls to Fonda and ride a river-boat for 90 miles from Hudson to Tarrytown, both gaps in New York State. Interurbans ran diners, sleepers and fast limited trains out of their own union depots. They represented an investment of well over a billion dollars and provided jobs for some 50,000 men.

Ten years later, although profits had been disappointingly slim, the scope of their operations had not changed much, but in another decade two-thirds of their mileage had been abandoned. World War II gave those which had so far survived a short respite but today the electric interurban is only a memory.

How could an important industry which played a major part in the development of intercity passenger transportation pass out of the picture so rapidly? Messrs. Due and Hilton tell us, simply, that its rival, the automobile, retarded in its early years, finally outstripped it completely and won all its passengers away. Had the motor car been less complicated and persnickety and been perfected around the turn of the century, the interurban network would never have been built. And a lot of investors would not have lost their money.

The interurban story is one which has never been covered in any detail although its significance in American economic history certainly offers adequate justification. It is not a success story but, as the authors state, "economic history, naturally, has concerned itself mainly with success, but the study of failure is no less illustrative of the processes of capitalism."

The Electric Interurban Railways in America presents the entire epic, first for the industry in detail and then, in brief, for each individual interurban railway by states. It is most carefully done. For practically every statement made the authors cite two or three illustrative examples. Covered are the rise of the industry, technology, traffic, government regulations, finance, decline, and finally, "The Decision to Abandon." One of the striking, and perhaps frightening, things about this history is that those within the industry never could believe it was dying until it was gone.

Messrs. Hilton and Due are to be congratulated on an interesting and valuable contribution. I wish they had included a few more of the many fine interurban photographs which are available and I was sorry they left out a pet of mine, the Nevada Interurban, which used to rattle and bang its way between Reno and Moana Springs with every trip an adventure. But this pathetic line probably did not meet their definition of an interurban despite its name.

Obviously, if this is all I can find to criticize, it is a most excellent book. That it is, and it is a pleasure to recommend it.

Gilbert H. Kneiss

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